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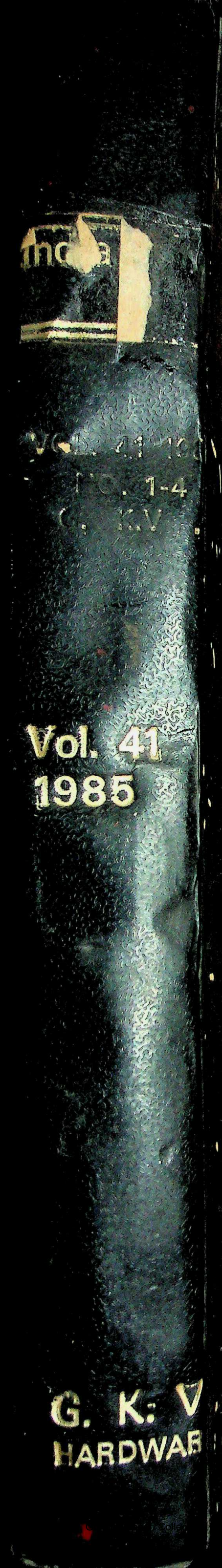
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INDO–US RELATIONS : SEARCH FOR MATURE AND CONSTRUCTIVE TIES

By B.K. SHRIVASTAVA*

Rajiv Gandhi's election as the Prime Minister has aroused enthusiasm and hope for change. However, the chances of major changes in either the structure or the orientation of foreign policy are remote. The present policies have evolved in response to challenges posed by developments in India's external policy environment. For this reason the Janata Party, not bound by any loyalty to the past, was unable to change the orientation of the nation's foreign policy. There was infact no alternative which the thinking public in this country would have accepted as reasonable. Nevertheless within the given structure and orientation of foreign policy significant changes are feasible.

Today the world is moving from one stage to another of higher technology. The Western countries, particularly the United States, holds the key to this transformation. India has already obtained from the Soviet Union whatever assistance it could for its economic development. Growth to a higher stage requires cooperation of the western world. On the other hand, political and strategic compulsions force us to maintain close relations with the Soviet Union. The situation in which we are placed thus reinforces the logic of non-alignment. China going through its four-fold modernization adds urgency to our situation. Despite the preeminence of the Super Powers the world is still multi-polar—and every nation will have to learn to live with it. Therefore, despite the fact that the United States' actions threaten our security and it carries the major responsibility for the present state of relations, the new Indian Government needs to carry on the initiative for improving relations.

MRS. GANDHI'S return to power in 1980 almost coincided with the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan. The United States, at this point of time, was under great pressure; its preeminent position was being openly challenged in Iran, its Embassy had been seized and the employees taken as hostages, its enormous power was of no use in coping with the crisis. The American public witnessed this spectacle of their country's helplessness and humiliation daily on their TV screens. Consequently, the American position on Afghanistan toughened. In the trauma, through which it was passing, no other course appeared to be feasible. India's criticism of the Soviet Union expectedly was in a subdued tone. No doubt, it expressed its unequivocal opposition to the presence of foreign troops everywhere and supported the Soviet withdrawal. But it appeared to accept the Soviet

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justification for the invasion when it said that the withdrawal could only be effected when the foreign interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan would cease. In the somber mood of humilation, frustration and anger in which the Americans were, a large number of them considered India's stand to be supportive of the Soviet position. In their anger the American people defeated President Carter and elected Ronald Reagan in November 1980. Throughout the first four years of the Reagan Administration, American foreign policy remained aggressive, assertive, extremely conservative and combative. It particularly took a tough position against the Soviet Union. Consequently, super power relations took a nose dive.

For India this had serious implications. In the strategic consensus which the United States evolved, Pakistan came to occupy a very significant place. It served as the conduit through which US assistance reached the Afghan rebels, provided recruits for the insurgency operation from the Afghan refugee camps and extended to them training and other facilities. It played a significant role in lining up Islamic countries against the Soviet presence in Afghanistan. Besides, it was assigned an important place in the scheme for the defence of American interests in the Middle East. American decision therefore, was to further strengthen Pakistan's military capability. Neither the autocratic nature of Zia ul Haq's regime, nor the surfacing of evidence that Pakistan was making an A Bomb was allowed to come in the way of this effort. Americans became worried only for a brief moment when it appeared that Zia may be brought down by the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy. One outcome of US policy was that Pakistan felt encouraged to pursue its anti-Indian policy. The American policy was thus a matter of great concern to India. The United States also pursued a parallel policy towards China although not on the same plane. Although so far it has not provided China with military equipment, it permits it to make purchases in American markets which can be put to civilian as well as military uses. The pace of improvement in Sino-American relations was directly influenced by United States' deteriorating relations with the Soviet Union. Because of its past experience China's modernization of its Army is a matter of serious concern for India.

Even when the security environment of the country deteriorated as a result of US policy, India continued to hope for better economic relations with the United States. Although over the years direct American assistance to India has declined substantially, it has been the recipient of loans on concessional terms from international agencies in which the United States has substantial influence. Besides, India has always enjoyed good trade relations with the United States. The latter too does not find it easy to ignore India altogther while it is improving relations with China. India is the largest democracy in the world; both the countries therefore, were interested in improving their relations. The initiative however, came from India when, during her visit to the United States in July 1982, Mrs Gandhi

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discussed bilateral issues with American officials. Agreement was reached to enable India to obtain nuclear fuel from France for its Tarapur Atomic Power Station. Both the governments also reached an agreement on the issue of disposal of Tarapur atomic waste. The United States considered India's request for transfer of high technology. Mrs Gandhi explained to the American audience that India tilted neither to the Soviet Union nor the United States but stood upright and was neither pro-Soviet Union nor pro any other country, but only pro-India.

Thus, basic changes in the orientation of the foreign policy of the two countries was not possible and therefore both of them were only looking for areas of agreement to give a positive look to their relationship. Mrs Gandhi's visit was followed by the visits of several American officials in quick succession. In November 1982, Deputy Secretary of State Engleburger came to India. He publicly admitted that the United States had gone round to convince that India should not get the loan it had asked for from the Asian Development Bank; the American position is that India should raise loans from commercial sources. Nevertheless, he declared : "There are differences [but] they need not stand in the way of impoving bilateral relations."

A few months later, an influential Republican Senator, Orrin G. Hatch, proposed in the Senate that the United States Navy should resume its goodwill visits to India that had been discontinued in the seventies. He urged the United States to take advantage of India's attempt to diversify the sources of its arms supply by allowing it to have access to the American arms market. This was in marked contrast to the earlier argument of the Americans that by supplying high technology to India the United States would be risking exposure because of India's close relations with the Soviet Union. Unlike Pakistan and Sri Lanka, India asks all ships visiting its ports for declaration of their routes and destinations. Those who do not want to make such a declaration do not visit the Indian ports. On their part, American ships do not declare whether they are carrying nuclear weapons or not. The question this suggestion poses is whether India would change existing practices and adopt rules similar to those of Pakistan and Sri Lanka. It is changes like these that the Americans would be watching for.

Secretary of State, George Schultz, visited India in July 1983. He made it clear that the United States was willing to sell arms to India. He also proposed to get spare parts for Tarapur and offered better prospects for economic and scientific cooperation. Despite an improvement in the climate, the United States continued to pursue policies which had an adverse impact on the Indian economy. For instance, America reduced credits to Western-dominated international credit institutions from where India used to get loans at concessional rates of interest. Mrs Gandhi's comment in January 1984 was : "They don't seem to bother about India."

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It was not by accident, but by deliberate design, that the environment for better relations continued to improve. On the occasion of the presentation of credentials by India's Ambassador, K.S. Bajpai, in March 1984, President Reagan pointed out : "India and the United States have different perspectives and priorities, but there were also similiarities." He expanded on this theme in his interview to the *Far Eastern Economic Review* in May 1984 ; he said, "the United States has taken a number of steps to strengthen its ties with India and certainly does not consider India to be anti-American." The dialogue which had been initiated was continuing. And he added : "We have our differences with India certainly, but I truly believe that India and the United States have reached a point where we can pursue a mature and constructive relationship based on the values and interests we share rather than points of differences."

The question that had been asked in the interview was : "Whether inspite of its anti-American stance and its close relations with the Soviet Union, past and present US Administrations could not have done more to improve relations with the most populous democracy ?" This question always has a force in the United States but when the administration is accelerating the pace of improvement in relations with Communist China, it acquires much more relevance and meaning. Therefore, when Reagan was visiting China in May, Vice President Bush arrived in India as a sort of a counterbalancing act. The American Vice-President assured India that the United States recognises it as "a major pivotal power, important in the region and important in the world." He went on to add that the United States supported "a strong, stable and united India *at peace with its neighbours*."

Although the search for improvement continues, more than two years' hard work has not produced any concrete results. Mrs. Gandhi's assasination on 31 October sent shock waves throughout the world. Every one had assumed that she would be around and in control for many more years. In the judgement of many Americans, Mrs. Gandhi was biased against the Western Powers, therefore they now expect much more from Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. Their optimism is reflected in such assessments as "he may prove more *flexible* than his mother towards the United States yet firmer towards the neighbouring Pakistan." At the same time it is also realised that Rajiv Gandhi will build on Mrs. Gandhi's foreign policy structure.

Soon after his election as the Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi told an American correspondent, Dean Brelis, that he saw "strong relations" between India and the Soviet Union but that did not mean "that we don't want to be friends with the United States. We want to keep our option of individuality open." The young Prime Minister also made his concern over the supply of sophisticated weapons to Pakistan known to Washington. But it is unlikely that Washington would change its policy towards it so long as its confrontation with the Soviet Union continues.

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In the coming months India will strive for import of high technology from the United States. In the last few years the Indian economy has done well primarily due to two reasons. Its oil production has gone up substantially easing the burden of balance of payments and it has harvested a record crop for two consecutive years. However, Indian economy must export in order to do well in the coming years and that will be possible only if it modernises its industry. India, therefore, seeks import of such high technology goods as computers, electronics and military hardware. It has already signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the United States for transfer of high technology. This probably already provides safeguards against the transfer of such technology to the third countries. If an agreement finally comes through, it may significantly expand US trade with India. There is another agreement in the offing which would create a fund for promoting United States-India exchanges in the fields of science, technology and arts. The United States reportedly has offered a sum of $ 110 million for the fund. When Rajiv Gandhi visits the United States in June this year to inaugurate the Indian Festival these agreements may be given final shape.

There are two things which augur well for improvement in relations. First, after many years the tension in super power relations has somewhat eased. Second, there is realization in both the countries that relations have to improve despite basic differences. The differences between the two countries are fundamental and would remain. The present search is therefore for constructive and cooperative relationship with acceptance of differences.

March 1985.

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INDIA, USSR AND EAST EUROPE : EMERGING TRENDS UNDER RAJIV GANDHI

By DEVENDRA KAUSHIK*

When Mrs. Gandhi fell to the assassins' bullets on 31 October 1984, India's relations with the Soviet Union and the East European countries had already begun to show signs of strains despite an outward affirmation in official documents of an identity of views on various major global and regional issues. The earlier perception of mutually converging interests was gradually beginning to give way to relations between India and the USSR in terms of the rules of realpolitik. *The USSR began increasingly to perceive its interests as a global power and India as a regional power which gave rise to an undercurrent of caution in Indo-Soviet relations which in turn is bound to influence the course of India's relations with East European countries as well.*

I

INDIA AND USSR : DILEMMA OF AN ERODED OBJECTIVE BASE

IN fact, a trend towards divergence in Indo-Soviet relations can be discerned in 1973 itself. Moscow failed in its attempts to persuade India to sponsor its Asian collective security proposal. New Delhi reportedly turned down Moscow's request to arrange for Brezhnev's 1973 visit to coincide with the second anniversary of the Indo-Soviet Treaty. Again in 1981, it politely declined to oblige the Soviets who desired a state visit by the Indian Prime Minister to coincide with the tenth anniversary of the Treaty. The celebrations in New Delhi were deliberately kept at a low key. Neither Mrs. Gandhi nor the Foreign Minister showed up at the functions organized on this occasion by the "Friends of the Soviet Union" an organization set up at Mrs. Gandhi's instance to split the pro-CPI Indo-Soviet Cultural Society. Gromyko's article in *Pravda*—highly eulogistic of the Indo-Soviet Treaty—did not evoke any response from his Indian counterpart.

The talk about a "special relationship" notwithstanding, the late Soviet President Brezhnev's visit to India in 1980 was not followed by the customary return visit by the Indian Prime Minister until September 1982. It was postponed once in 1981—in view of the forced postponement of the Indian PM's visit to the USA—and even when it materialized Mrs. Gandhi took care to visit the United States first before going to the USSR. Mrs. Gandhi availed herself of the Cancun meet in October 1981 to hold

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talks with President Reagan and to visit Rome and Paris in the fall of 1981, not to mention her state visits to Romania and Bulgaria which looked like attempts to peep into the Soviet backyard.

Of course, when Mrs. Gandhi eventually visited the Soviet Union in September 1982 on a seven-day state visit, following her nine-day visit to the United States, she was received with warmth and hospitality and had wide-ranging, cordial talks with top Soviet leaders. The Indo-Soviet Joint Declaration issued at the conclusion of Mrs. Gandhi's visit expressed "profound satisfaction" at the results of the visit and noted that relations between the two countries were "characterised by respect and trust between the leaders and peoples and by the diversity of spheres and forms of cooperation." That it took more than thirty-six hours of tough negotiation between high officials of the two countries to finalise the Joint Declaration[1] speaks about the growing divergence in the perceptions of India and USSR.

Even during Mrs. Gandhi's 1982 Moscow visit a divergence of views surfaced in Brezhnev's banquet speech of 20 September. Brezhnev warned India against Pakistan's offer of a no-war pact, which he described as a camouflage for Islamabad's plans to acquire more American weapons.[2] But in her speech at a reception organised in her honour by Soviet public organizations the next day, Mrs. Gandhi reaffirmed India's intentions to persist in its efforts to reduce tension with its neighbours, including China and Pakistan. "Neighbours are given to us by geography. Evidently it is better to live with them in friendship than in bitterness," declared Mrs. Gandhi.[3]

The convergence between Moscow and New Delhi on such global issues as disarmament and *detente* was also more illusory than real. An Indian journalist, Girilal Jain aptly commented, "When Mrs. Gandhi deplores the nuclear arms build-up, she is by no means saying that the other side (the West) is (only) to blame for it".[4] Mrs. Gandhi's reluctance to endorse Brezhnev's proposal, made in his banquet speech of 20 September 1982, that the leading nations of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty should make a statement recording their refusal to extend the sphere of activity of these alliances to Asia, Africa and Latin America, is a case in point. Brezhnev, it may be recalled, had expressed the hope that "India as well as other peace-loving independent states of these continents would welcome such a step."[5] Yet Mrs. Gandhi did not choose to react to it at all. Nor did the Joint Declaration mention it. Obviously, India would not like to offend the West European members of NATO who had vital stakes in some African countries.

Thus a certain caution, if not mistrust, continued to persist in Indo-Soviet relations through the years 1982-84. If Moscow was worried at New Delhi's growing tilt towards the United State as indicated by the IMF loan and a soft attitude towards monopolies, both national and international, and the prospects of the conclusion of a no-war pact with

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Pakistan at Washington's prodding, New Delhi also continued to watch with some anxiety the new developments in Sino-Soviet relations. Sino-Soviet relations were reported to have figured prominently in Mrs. Gandhi's talks with Mrs. Thatcher who stopped over in New Delhi on 29 September 1982 on her way to England after a visit to Beijing. The agreement reached by India in Moscow, just a few days earlier, to further expand cooperation in the field of power generation did not prevent Mrs. Gandhi from signing an agreement with Mrs. Thatcher on 30 September for the construction of a giant 1000 MW thermal power plant in Rihand costing Rs. 1,000 crores.

If one were to go by the United State's Secretary of State, George Shultz's recent testimony before the House Foreign Operations Sub-committee, an upward curve in Indo-American relations began with Mrs. Gandhi's United States visit about two years ago. According to West German commentator, Dieter Braun, "New Delhi would seem to have come to terms with the continued existence of this (Diego Garcia) United States base lying about 1,600 km. from Southern India" in return for United States' willingness to allow India an increased access to financial markets controlled by the United States and to latest American technology.[6] It was, perhaps to signify India's recognition of the United States presence in the Indian Ocean that New Delhi permitted a vessel of the United States Seventh Fleet to make a port call for a day at the Indian port of Cochin just within a week after Marshal Ustinov's visit to India in March 1984 to finalise the deal for the supply of Mig 27s and Mig 29s.

The Soviets did try to gain some propaganda mileage in the wake of Mrs. Gandhi's assassination. The World Service of Radio Moscow in its foreign languages broadcast on 31 October and 1 November accused the CIA of imparting "ideological training" to the terrorists in Panjab and a *Sovetskaya Rossiya* article on 1 November asserted that there existed documentary evidence to prove that the Special Services of Pakistan and a number of Western countries were behind the Panjab separatists. On 2 November *TASS* took note of demonstrations against the assassination of Mrs. Gandhi outside the American Consulates in Madras and Calcutta. The *Pravda* of 2 November called Mrs. Gandhi's murder "the biggest subversive operation to destabilise and divide India." In an article published in the same Soviet daily on 4 November, its author Vsevolod Ovchinnikov said that Indian leaders were unanimous that, "external forces hostile to India are indirectly, if not directly, implicated in the crime." Soviet Radio commentator, Nikolai Shishlin also stressed the importance of a strong India for world peace and wished the continuation of its "independent foreign policy."[7] Alexander Bovin noted that one component in this policy was "good and cordial relations" between India and the USSR and expressed the hope that these relations would remain the same in years to come.[8]

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As usual, with the taking over of the reins of government in New Delhi by a new Prime Minister, the Soviet President, Chernenko in his condolence message to Rajiv Gandhi recalled the great importance that Mrs. Gandhi attached to strengthening friendship and developing comprehensive cooperation between the USSR and India and affirmed the resolve of Soviet leadership to strengthen relations of friendship with India. In turn, Rajiv Gandhi assured the Soviet Premier Nikolai Tikhonov on 2 November, that his government would continue the same policy as had been pursued by Jawaharlal Nehru and Mrs. Gandhi in strengthening friendly ties with the Soviet Union and other countries. Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko said in his address on the eve of the 67th anniversary of the October Revolution that the Soviet people wished the leadership of friendly India "staunchness in continuing the foreign policy course bequeathed by Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi."

The repeated references to the desirability of continuing Jawaharlal Nehru's and Mrs. Gandhi's foreign policy contained in the statements and speeches of top-ranking Soviet leaders were in a way a reflection of their anxiety about the course India might adopt under the stewardship of Rajiv Gandhi. The optimistic note struck by high ranking American statesmen and diplomats like Senator Moynihan (who said that the new government under Rajiv Gandhi will be less ideological than the government of Indira Gandhi and therefore more likely to be flexible in its dealings with the United States)[9] could not have gone unnoticed by the Kremlin. The bilateral relations between the United States and India that began to improve in the last days of Indira Gandhi were expected to grow closer under Rajiv Gandhi.

A high-level dialogue between the United States and Rajiv Gandhi began when a delegation led by the Secretary of State, George Shultz visited New Delhi for Mrs. Gandhi's funeral. Since then a number of United States' Congressmen and Senators, both in groups and individually, have met Rajiv Gandhi and most of them returned convinced that time was ripe for achieving a breakthrough in Indo-US relations. Senator Pell underscored this point in his report submitted to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Secretary of State, Shultz is reported to have assured Rajiv Gandhi that the United States Administration would try to improve its relationship with India by striving for a better balance in its involvement in the sub-continent without in any way weakening its links with Pakistan. Shultz is convinced that the $ 3.2 billion package of economic and security assistance by the United States to Pakistan could be effectively used to reduce the latter's motivation to acquire a nuclear bomb. In fact, of late Pakistan is reported to have substantially cut down its nuclear programme by reducing the size of its Kahuta plant in response to the United States pressure to accomodate India. New Delhi has already

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signed a memorandum of understanding with Washington to ensure transfer of American technology.

There are reasons to believe that both sides have preferred to proceed cautiously to work out an agreement which has some strategic aspects as well. The impending visit of a United States Seventh Fleet ship to Goa (second visit in a year, this time extended to two days) at a time when New Zealand under its new Labour Government has declared its ports out of bounds for the nuclear-weapon carrying American vessels gives an idea of the slowly unfolding strategic dimension of a new understanding between India and the United States. The American President's star-war strategy is likely to turn the Indian Ocean and the South Asian region into a major theatre of nuclear conflict. The United States Defence Secretary, Caspar Weinberger announced recently that the United States was planning to deploy ASATS in its Indian Ocean bases and aircraft carriers were plying there. The United States is also developing the ground based electro-optical deep space surveillance system to detect satellites. This system is planned to operate from the Diego Garcia base in the Indian Ocean.

All these developments are bound to have a disquieting effect on the Kremlin even though it may fight shy of admitting its anxiety publicly. One wonders if the real object of display of extra cordiality and warmth in Soviet relations with India—the Politburo Resolution, the Council of Ministers' Message and the gesture of giving Rajiv Gandhi precedence over other leaders of the non-Communist World at the funeral of Chernenko – is to conceal the strains and stresses that Moscow's relations with India are currently subjected to. Nonetheless, for the present Moscow seems to be quite determined to seize every opportunity to strengthen its cooperation with India. By a Protocol signed in December 1984, India and the USSR agreed to increase their trade turnover to a record Rs, 4,620 crores in 1985—an increase of about 20 per cent over the 1984 turnover of Rs. 3,840 crores.[10] The exports from India to USSR are planned to go up by 25 per cent over the preceding year against a rise of 15 per cent in the imports from the USSR. It, however, remains to be seen how long the USSR can continue to unilaterally step up its imports from India without a corresponding increase in the Soviet exports to India. Already a sizeable rouble surplus has accumulated in India's account in Moscow and unless New Delhi takes a decision to utilise some Rs. 5,000 crores worth of existing and prognosticated rouble surpluses to order thermal power plants from the Soviet Union to eliminate power shortage in the country and to speed up the construction of the Vishakapatnam Steel Plant with Soviet assistance, Indo-Soviet trade relations may soon reach their plateau.

Thus, the relations between India and the Soviet Union are currently confronted with the problem of sustaining their old high level in the face of a fast eroding objective base. Having built an infrastructure of basic

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industries with Soviet assistance, the Indian ruling elite has started looking to the West for import of a new higher technology. Anti-imperialism which sustained this relationship in the past is getting diluted over the years. A policy of increased cooperation with the MNCs in the name of pursuit of the "High Tech" track for a leap into the 21st century is bound to adversely affect the successful growth of India's multi-faceted cooperation with the USSR.

II

INDIA AND EAST EUROPE : TOWARDS A NEW AUTONOMOUS RELATIONSHIP

At the threshold of 1985 as India rang in the Rajiv era in national politics, New Delhi's relations with the USSR and the Communist bloc countries in East Europe were as friendly and cordial as ever with cooperation in different fields developing to the satisfaction of both sides. Over the years a multi-dimensional relationship has developed between India and the socialist countries of East Europe embracing all fields—trade economics, politics, culture and technology.

Relations between India and some of the East European countries like Poland, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria go back to a distant past. In fact, India's relations with Bulgaria and Poland can be traced from the ancient and medieval period of history. Linguistic and ethnic similarities between the peoples of India and Bulgaria are attributed to their contacts in the ancient period. In the 16th Century a Polish traveller, Gaspar da Gama travelled from Poznan in Poland to Bijapur in South India. In the 1920's, Tagore twice visited Prague. Also, interest in classical Indian literature in Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia has been an old tradition.

EARLY ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION

During the past decades India's economic and technical cooperation with East European countries has been growing satisfactorily, particularly in the fields of metallurgy, coal mining, oil extracting and refining, machine-building, power generation, ship-building, telecommunications and manufacturing of tractors and drugs. Thus Czechoslovakia helped in the development of the heavy-machine tools plant established in Ranchi with Soviet assistance as also in the expansion of the Soviet-built heavy electrical plants in Hardwar and Hyderabad. Romanian specialists assisted the Oil and Natural Gas Commission (ONGC) in conducting the work of exploration, boring and extraction of oil and setting up of an oil refinery in Gauhati, Assam. Hungary cooperated in the construction of the aluminium plant in Korba built with Soviet help. Poland rendered valuable assistance in the construction and setting up of several coal enterprises.

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Along with the USSR, the German Democratic Republic and Poland cooperated with India in developing the country's ship-building industry. Bulgaria and Hungary helped India to build pharmaceutical and chemical plants.

Trade turnover between the CMEA countries, including the USSR and East European countries, has registered a phenomenal growth during the recent past. An idea of its expansion can be formed from the fact that in the early 1950s the share of the CMEA members in India's foreign trade was under one per cent, but in 1982 those countries accounted for 25 per cent of India's exports and 13 per cent of its imports. Of course, the USSR is a major trading partner of India among the Socialist countries controlling over three-quarters of India's trade, leaving the remaining one-fourth to the share of the East European countries, members of the CMEA. India's trade with the CMEA countries has increased from Rs. 44.8 million in 1952-53 to Rs. 33,077.6 million in 1981-82. Over the 1970-82 period alone their trade with India showed a five-fold increase. In terms of percentage increases in the value of annual trade turnover with India for 1983 over that of the previous year (1982) some of the East European countries were ahead of the USSR's increase of 11.2 per cent—GDR 15 per cent, Romania 15 per cent, Czechoslovakia 14 per cent and Poland 26 per cent (the 1983 figures for Bulgaria and Hungary were not available).

The early eighties witnessed an activisation of the Indo-East European relations. During the visit to India, in February 1982, of the Bulgarian Deputy Prime Minister, Andrei Lukanov, Bulgaria agreed to extend cooperation with India in the pharmaceutical, leather and electronic-data processing industries. President Reddy paid a state visit to Yugoslavia in May 1982. The same month Foreign Minister Naraasimha Rao visited Bulgaria. The Yugoslav Vice-President Radovan Vlajkovic visited New Delhi in August 1982. The same month, Agriculture Minister Rao Birendra Singh visited Bulgaria to participate in the sixth session of the Indo-Bulgarian Joint Commission which discussed the possibilities of export of Indian iron-ore pellets to Bulgaria.

The Indo-Polish Trade Agreement was signed in Warsaw in Octeber 1982 by the then Energy Minister Shiv Shankar. It envisaged a doubling of the volume of trade between the two countries. At a meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Party on 21 December 1982, Mrs. Gandhi declared that India desired no outside interference in Poland and expressed hope that the people of Poland would solve their problems by themselves within their country.

The Indo-Czech Trade Protocol was signed in Prague at the end of the tenth session of the Indo-Czech Joint Commission by the then Commerce Minister Shivraj Patil in 1982. It envisaged possibilities for manufacture in India of heavy duty processing machines, textile and printing equipment under Czech license. Romania and India also discussed collaboration in

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the sixth session of the Indo-Romanian Joint Commiision in 1982. Besides the USSR, India's trade with Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Poland also recorded a favourable balance for India. This was, however, not the case with Bulgaria, Hungary, GDR and Romania with whom India did not enjoy a favourable balance of trade. During 1983 India's trade surplus with the USSR and East Europe was expected to increase to Rs. 500 crores. This resulted in a demand for change over to trade in convertible currency in certain quarters in India. Already India's trade with Yugoslavia and Hungary is conducted in convertible currency.

During Mrs. Gandhi's tenure in office political and economic cooperation between India and the CMEA countries of East Europe continued to grow further in 1983-1984. The Bulgarian President and General Secretary of the Communist Party of Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov paid a state visit to India in December 1983. In the joint press statement issued on the conclusion of his visit on 13 December, Mrs. Gandhi drew the Bulgarian President's attention to the dangers of the nuclear arms race and stalemate in disarmament negotiations. She expressed the need to break the impasse in the dialogue on disarmament. On his part the Bulgarian President apprised Mrs. Gandhi of the threat posed by deployment of new missiles in West Europe to his country's security. The inter-sessional talks in the Joint Indo Bulgarian Commission stressed the need to undertake measures for balancing and increasing trade exchanges on a mutually advantageous basis. New areas for further economic, scientific and technological cooperation were also considered. In his talks with President Zail Singh, Todor Zhivkov expressed Bulgaria's anxiety over militarization of the Indian Ocean and extended support to the proposal to convene the International Conference on the Indian Ocean under the aegis of the United Naions at an early date.

In February 1983, during Czech Premier Lubomir Strougals state visit to India, both countries expressed concern over the arms race and pleaded for a nuclear arms freeze. The trade plan for Indo-Czech trade for the year 1984 provided for a 6.5 per cent increase in the volume of trade between the two countries raising it to Rs. 411 crores. Czechoslovakia agreed to buy from India a number of non-conventional items.

In March 1984, the Polish Speaker Stanislaw Guewa visited India. Poland made an offer to build thermal power plants in exchange for tea, oilcakes and mica.

The Yugoslav President Djuranovic paid an official visit to India in August 1984. Both Mrs. Gandhi and the Yugoslav President expressed concern at the deteriorating economic and trade relations between the two countries despite their strong political ties. Indo-Yugoslav trade which stood at Rs. 67.4 crores in 1980 declined to Rs. 36.8 crores in 1983 and to Rs. 16.2 crores in the first half of 1984. In August 1984 India and Yugoslavia set up an institutional mechanism to boost their bilateral trade by forming a consortium of importers ond exporter. The nodal agencies in

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the two countries are to ensure that linked trade dealings are conducted on a balanced basis. If the balance in contracting between imports and exports exceeds $ 10 millions, the two sides would meet and take immediate action to correct the imbalance. The Czech Minister of Foreign Trade, Behumil also visited New Delhi in October 1984 to sign a new five-year trade agreement. The two countries agreed to continue the existing bilateral clearing arrangements under which payments for all transactions would be made in non-convertible Indian rupees. Both Prague and New Delhi agreed to grant each other the most favoured nation treatment in respect of all internal taxes, laws, regulations and requirements for exports and imports The two sides also identified several new items and underscored the need to enlarge economic cooperation on a mutually beneficial basis. Since the signing of the first trade and payments agreement in 1959 the volume of trade between the two countries has gone up by more than 22 times.

The closing months of the last year (1984) also saw the conclusion of a protocol between India and Bulgaria (15 October 1984) envisaging the setting up of joint ventures in the heavy chemical sector including fertilisers, petroleum products and detergents in the two countries as well as in third countries. Both countries agreed to nominate two nodal agencies to identify possible areas of cooperation in joint ventures in third countries. Earlier in August 1984, India and Yugoslavia also agreed to name nodal agencies for third country projects. A nine-member Bulgarian delegation headed by the Bulgarian Defence Minister General Dobri Djurov visited India in October 1984. It held discussions on matters of mutual interest with the then Indian Defence Minister S. B. Chavan. While India's trade with Bulgaria, Poland and Czechoslovakia has maintained its upward swing in both exports and imports, this has not been the case with its trade with Yugoslavia and Hungary. India's trade turnover with Yugoslavia which was Rs. 67.4 crores in 1980 fell to Rs. 36.8 crores for the first six months of 1984. In the case of trade with Hungary, though the trade turnover grew from $ 65.7 million in 1982 to $ 92.4 million in 1983, the imbalance in the bilateral turnover rose by a still greater pace. Hungary's exports to India amounted to $ 75.5 million in 1983 while its imports totalled only $ 16.8 million. The difficulties which these two East European countries are currently facing on account of the introduction of self-management of enterprises and the new economic reforms towards a market-oriented socialist system have reduced the prospects for development of economic relations with India.

Way back in the mid-fifties, India's relations with the East European countries started developing as a necessary adjunct of the Indo-USSR relations. Their autonomous character was to develop later. Under the influence of the then dominant concept of monolithic unity of the communist bloc, relations with the East European countries were couducted with an

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eye to the need to cultivate the USSR and consolidate relations with it. The emergence of polycentrism in the Soviet bloc resulted in greater attention to the development of relations with the East European countries individually and independent of the relations with the USSR. During Mrs. Gandhi's tenure in office India tried to develop autonomous relations with the East European communist countries. After her reassumption of power in 1980 Mrs. Gandhi chose to pay state visits to Romania and Bulgaria in the fall of 1981, even prior to her visit to the USSR. These visits looked like Indian attempts to peep into the Soviet backyard. She studiously avoided a state visit to Moscow in 1981 lest it coincided with the tenth anniversary of the Indo-Soviet Treaty and finally visited USSR only in September 1982.

India has paid special attention to developing relations with the GDR, Bulgaria and Romania –the three East European countries which have of late been reasserting their independence vis-a-vis Moscow. India's relations with Yugoslavia belongs to a different category, Belgrade being a co-founder of the Non-Aligned Movement. Recently, even a competitive element has entered the relations between India, USSR and the East European countries. It is no secret that both Czechoslovakia and Poland have been competing among themselves to clinch a deal with New Delhi for the sale and renovation of defence equipment. A competition already exists between Poland and the USSR over their offer to build thermal power stations in India as also between Hungary and the USSR over supplying technology for Indian alumina plants.

The victory of Rajiv Gandhi at the 1984 parliamentary polls has been generally seen as the resounding reaffirmation of Indian nationalism by the Indian electorate. As such, it is only natural to expect the new government to pull its weight behind nationally-oriented communism following an independent course within the Warsaw Pact. A defiant, Honecker, Janos Kadar, Nikolae Ceausescu or Todor Zhivkov is likely to find greater sympathy and understanding in New Delhi. True, Prime Minister Rajiv Ganhi's televised broadcast to the nation on 5 January does not specifically mention relations with East Europe, but it is not difficult to draw certain inferences from its general tone and tenor which can serve as a guideline and policy frame for the future course along which these relations are expected to develop. In this context, it is important to note Rajiv Gandhi's assertion in his address about India's determination to work for "safeguarding the indepdence of states and upholding the principles of non-interference and non-intervention." While declaring that his government would "scrupulously follow the basic approach and principles bequeathed to us by Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi," Rajiv Gandhi has also hastened to add that "we shall be dynamic in our response to the changing context." Few will doubt that the context of India's relations with East Europe has undergone a sea-change during the last two decades.

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Mrs. Gandhi was quick in grasping this changing context and devising a new policy in its wake. Her young successor is likely to continue her policy based on an increasing recognition of the autonomous character of India's relations with the East European countries.

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INDIA-CHINA RELATIONS : A POSITIVE FRAME

By MANORANJAN MOHANTY*

Pronouncements both by the Indian and Chinese governments after the inauguration of the Rajiv Gandhi administration reflect more than diplomatic niceties. They manifest a positive frame which has emerged in the recent years for a steady develapment of India-China relations. The pace at which the economic, scientific and cultural exchange programmes have expanded provides some ground for optimism for the sixth round of talks on the border scheduled for later this year in New Delhi. Though there is no indication of an emerging settlement on the border, still the stage is getting set for a serious progress on this issue.

Addressing the Congress Parliamentary Party on the eve of the first session of the new Lok Sabha, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi expressed his satisfaction over the progress made in the talks with China, but he also cautioned that the way towards a full agreement was very long. The President's address to Parliament on 17 January 1985 also indicated the same situation. He said, "Our relations with China have shown improvement. We shall persevere in seeking a solution to the boundary question." The Chinese have warmly reciprocated these feelings. Attending the Republic Day reception given by the Indian Ambassador A.P. Venkateswaran in Beijing, the Chinese Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian said that he saw no real conflict of fundamental interests between India and China and there were bright prospects for bilateral cooperation in the future.

There are several factors contributing to the emerging positive frame for Sino-Indian relations. The strategic shift in China's South Asia policy, the overall orientation of China's "independent foreign policy," and increasing exchange between India and China, are important among them. The new factors facititating this trend are the assertion of technological management approaches to the problems of development of the two countries by the current leaders and the extrems care with which China covers Indian developments in its press; this is evident from the Chinese reports on the Punjab issue.

I

CONVERGENCE OF APPROACH

Common Commitment to Modernization

IT is interesting to note that India's new Prime Minister has talked fequently about the country going into the twenty-first century. To accom-

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plish this he has called for a process of modernization on all fronts. We already hear of the arrival of the computer age in India. The Prime Minister has emphasized the need for revamping the management of all enterprises, both in the public as well as private sector. For this he has advocated the adoption of modern management techniques. The high degree of convergence of this approach with Deng Xiaoping's approach to modernization in post-Mao China represents a significant trend. The ruling forces of both the countries seem to have a common commitment to modernization propelled by superior technology and efficient management. These approaches may have their domestic and foreign critics questioning the assumptions underlying these development approaches or their social consequences. But the fact is that the rulers of India and China today share a common perspective on modernization and can communicate with each other far better than before. This is not to ignore the differences in the political systems of the two countries and particularly the dominant role that the Communist Party of China plays there.

This situation is very different from what it was in the sixties when the Chinese model of development received widespread applause in world forums as against India's stumbling performance. China's self-perception during the Cultural Revolution was one of a rising socialist power. The debate on the Chinese model in India had a wide range of viewpoints. Some thoroughly derided Indian policies while others dismissed the Chinese experiment as totalitarian or Mao Tse-Tung's dogmatic revolutionism. That situation presented a psychological gap which has now almost disappeared.

Development Dialogue Continues

In the middle of 1978 Indian observers were surprised to note that Deng Xiaoping had praised the Indian achievements in the field of education, particularly in the areas of science and technology. To Indians, who are familiar with the hopeless state of higher education in the country, it was something strange. But that was not all. The South Asia Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences has conducted a number of studies of Green Revolution in India and the Chinese policy-makers have often talked about learning from Indian experiences in agricultural development.

The new modesty about China's economic performance has been frequently demonstrated by Chinese scholars and policy-makers in various forums. We saw an abundance of this in the seminar on "Comparative Economic Development in India and China," jointly organised by Indian Council of Social Science Research and the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, held in New Delhi last January. Chinese scholars were frankly self-critical about some of their earlier policies and, of course, strongly denounced Mao's policy of the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural

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Revolution. It was pointed out that unlike the Indian experience, Chinese policies underwent great fluctuations disturbing economic stability. Several Indian scholars wondered about some negative implications of the new economic strategy of China particularly in generating inequalities and the vulnerability to pressures of the world capitalist economy. What is important to note is that the India-China development dialogue is now going on in a relaxed atmosphere of mutual respect and desire to learn from each other.

Trade Agreement Accords Favoured-Nation Treatment

The conclusion of the India-China Trade Agreement in August last year represented the new attitude of the two countries towards each other. Signing such an agreement after a gap of thirty years, both the countries accorded each other the most favoured-nation treatment in trade and commerce. The twelve-articled Agreement, bearing the signatures of the then Commerce Secretary Abid Hussain, now a member of the reconstituted Planning Commission and Lu Xuejian, the Chinese Vice-Minister, aims at increasing the volume of Sino-Indian trade to one thousand crore rupees in five years. After picking up some momentum between 1980 and 1982 the volume of trade had come down in 1983-84 to less than one hundred crore rupees. Earlier a FICCI delegation had identified a list of items for exports to and imports from China. Out of the fifty items in their list for Indian exports and twenty-five for imports from China the trade agreement listed fifteen as having export potential for each country. Experts believe that the items which India could export to China include chrome ore, iron ore, plastic, minerals, railway wagons, scooters, machine tools, pumps, iron and steel ingots, leather goods, etc. India could profitably import petroleum, nitrogen fertilizers, newsprint, paraphin wax, chemicals and pharmaceuticals, and even copper, zinc and lead from China. It has also to be recognised that in some exportable items both India and China face competition with each other. The items include : textiles—woollen and silk—light engineering goods, chemicals, footwear and tea. In some of these items China has gained ground from India in North America and Europe. It is believed that the trade talks did take up this matter. Negotiations have also taken place for joint India-China ventures in third countries and also Indian industrial investment in China. Some headway has been made in the establishment of a coaltar enamel project and Bajaj's scooter production in China. In a climate of China's open door economic policy, Indian industry as well as the Government of India seem to feel encouraged by the possibilities of India-China economic cooperation.

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Cultural Exchanges Facilitate Interaction

Year after year the calendar of India-China exchange is filled with more and more items. They include visits by cultural troupes, sports teams, business men, intellectuals, scientists, bureaucrats and others. Under a cultural understanding, India's University Grants Commission and the ICSSR have started exchanging teachers, researchers and students with China. A degree of professionalism now characterizes these exchanges, rather than either friendship visits or visits by area experts. The trips of Chinese scientists to India to study communication technology, metallurgy, and of Indian scientists to China to observe the irrigation works and fertilizer production are examples of the new stage of interaction between the two countries.

II

CHANGING PERSPECTIVES

Flexible Approach to Border Irritants

Inspite of the expanding horizon of cooperation between the two countries the crucial irritant of the border dispute persists. Five rounds of talks between Indian and Chinese officials have taken place during the last five years, but only in the last two some headway has been made. With the changed strategic environment in Asia and shifts in China's as well as India's foreign policy lines, a better climate has emerged for facilitating the negotiations. The domestic polical situations in the two countries are no less significant in this context. When Deng Xiaoping announced a package deal on the Sino-Indian border in June 1980, the Indian Government played it cool. After all late Premier Zhou Enlai had proposed practically the same thing in the New Delhi talks of 1960 and the Indian side had rejected it. Deng now proposed that in the eastern sector China could recognise the MacMahon line as demanded by India; in return, India could concede Aksai Chin to China in the western sector. Indian public opinion reacted cautiously to this proposal noting that Deng's package had unfrozen the issue just as the late Mrs. Gandhi's decision to resume ambassadorial relations in 1976 had done.

The first round of talks in Beijing in December 1981 drew up an agenda for talks which included not only the border but also avenues of cooperation. The second and the third rounds, held in New Delhi (May 1982) and Beijing (January 1983) respectively, made very little progress on the border issue. However, both sides used the occasions to expand cultural, technical and economic exchanges. The fourth and the fifth rounds, which took place in New Delhi (October 1983) and Beijing (September 1984) respectively, were described by both the sides as constructive and useful. At the fourth round, the Chinese side gave up their insistence on the

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package deal and India's sectorwise deliberation. On the other hand, both sides started to formulate commonly agreed principles for approaching the border problem. In the fifth round, some extremely general principles were formulated which allowed both sides to exercise a degree of flexibility around the table. This gave rise to some optimism for a breakthrough in the next round. Developments in the strategic environment of South Asia also point in the same direction.

Crystallization of an Independent Policy

The shift in China's policy towards the Super Powers crystallized around 1982 when it declared the adoption of an independent foreign policy. Until then the growing strategic relationship between China and the United States had caused concern in many quarters. Now, even though China makes arms purchases from the United States, it continues to be critical of the latter's policies on several issues like Central America, West Asia, disarmament, "star wars," etc. On the other hand, there has been a thaw in the Sino-Soviet relationship. The recent visit by a high-powered Soviet team to Beijing headed by Vice-Premier Arkhipov was not a total failure. The cultural and economic exchanges between China and the Soviet Union have also expanded steadily. India too corrected the pro-Soviet tilt in its foreign policy in recent years. As the Chairperson of the Non-Aligned Movement India did this in order to acquire greater credibility. Taking the initiative for a six-nation effort for nuclear disarmament, India stood firmly with countries from five continents, effectively registering the moral protest. China has consistently greeted India's initiative both at NAM and the six-nation summit-

Shift in South Asia Policy

The shift in China's South Asia policy is equally significant. China no longer capitalises over the tensions between India and its neighbours. It has now recognised the reality that in South Asia India is objectively placed as the most powerful country though there are limits to India's abiiity to dominate the region. China encourages bilateral discussions between India and its neighbours for settling their problems. China's pronouncements on Kashmir are more cautious than before. On the issue of Sri Lankan Tamils, China was initially critical of "outside interference" in the island's affairs but later gave up that stance to factually report on India's peace efforts. The growth of South Asian Regional Cooperation (SARC) has also received enthusiastic response from China. China now realises that SARC can emerge as a force to prevent super power interference in the sub-continent. Symptomatic of its new attitude is China's opening of high level border talks with Bhutan.

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III

APPRAISAL—NEED FOR PAN-ASIAN BALANCE

Both countries, however, have to reckon with the contemporary reality of world politics. India and China are two vast, populous societies which have embarked upon the path of modernization to acquire economic and political strength. Both have to necessarily maintain maximum options vis-a-vis the Super Powers and others for strategic as well as economic reasons. Besides, the persisting military tensions in Indo-China, Afghanistan and West Asia, the militarisation of the Indian Ocean poses new problems for the countries of Asia. Moreover, ethnic violence and secessionist movements in South Asia have created a tense atmosphere which may develop dangerous external linkages. For this purpose the emerging framework for international relations in Asia is one of pan-Asian balance based on a relationship of both cooperation and competition. In order to achieve this balance and play a more effective role in world affairs to check super power domination in the Third World and create a new international order, India and China must remove the irritants in their relations.

The massive mandate with which Rajiv Gandhi's Congress Party has returned to power allows him to confidently negotiate with China on the border issue. Late Mrs. Gandhi had established a personal acquaintance with Chinese leaders like Premier Zhao Ziyang and Vice-Premier Yao Yi Lin. (Yao incidentally attended Mrs. Gandhi's funeral). The new government also continues to have the services of Mrs. Gandhi's top foreign policy advisers—G. Parthasarthy, Natwar Singh who led the Indian team in the last round of talks and K.R. Narayanan, the former Ambassador to China—the latter two in the Union Council of Ministers. Over the years a national consensus has emerged in favour of a negotiated settlement with China on the border. Even the CPI's opposition has mellowed considerably. There is a slight danger that the frustrated opposition parties may reintroduce an emotional dimension to take up the border issue. After all, these were the elements who had pressurised Nehru against a negotiated settlement twenty-five years ago. Before that costly deviation takes place the two governments have to move steadily for a border settlement. In this, China has to make a significant gesture to compensate the hurt feeling that it had caused in the minds of the Indian people. Rajiv Gandhi, on his part, should also launch a bold initiative to facilitate this process.

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CONTINUITY AND CHANGE : INDIA'S RELATIONS WITH JAPAN

By SAVITRI VISHWANATHAN*

A new dimension in India's relations with Japan appear to have opened up with the visit of Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone to India in May 1984. In Japan, with Premier Nakasone's re-election for the second term in October 1984, the trend of strengthening relations with India are likely to continue. In fact, the big delegation headed by Nakasone himself, and which also included Foreign Minister Shintaro Abe, which came to pay their last respects to Mrs. Indira Gandhi gives sufficient evidence of Japan's strong desire to cultivate and extend the close relations, started during Mrs. Gandhi's tenure, with the new Rajiv Government as well. Further, Japan also fulfilled the earlier commitment made by Nakasone about sending a high level economic team to consider the areas of economic cooperation with India. The team visited India in the first week of December 1984 and identified broad areas for industrial collaboration and trade expansion. These include energy, telecommunications, electronics and auto ancillaries, which accord well with the high priority given in India's Seventh Five Year Plan to the development of power, transport and communication. It is attempted to discuss in this paper whether the new Government would find it advantageous to continue this trend of closer relations with Japan in the broader context of the foreign policy, which it proposes to pursue.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The new Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has made it very clear in all his pronouncements that India would abide by the policy of non-alignment followed by the earlier governments. He has also reiterated Mrs. Gandhi's statements that India has no "tilt" towards the Soviet Union; India looks at issues on their merit and wherever they are not in agreement with the nation's policies, it would speak out. However, it would continue to maintain friendly relations with all nations. There is a clear indication that India would continue to regulate its relations with all the nations of the world so that they contribute to the international development of India and also serve the goals of world peace, reduction of tensions and nuclear disarmament.

There had never been any grave ploblems between India and Japan. In fact, it is a matter of satisfaction that independent India started relations with Japan on a note of goodwill and friendship without being burdened

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by any legacy of hatred. The Japanese always will remember with gratitude that Pandit Nehru's policy towards Japan, even at the time when it was an occupied nation and there was an atmosphere of distrust and hatred towards Japan on account of its past aggression, was based on the conviction that Japan had a right to reconstruct itself at will and that it should be treated with dignity and equality. India extended whatever assistance it could in this regard; it took the initiative to give representation to Japan as an Asian nation in conferences and sports events despite the bitter and raw memories of the role of the Japanese military in the minds of the Asian peoples. While conceding Japan's right to choose its allies, India only insisted that this decision should be taken of its own free will after it had regained sovereignty and not during the period when it was constrained by foreign occupation. The Treaty, based on equality and reciprocity, which India concluded in June 1952 with Japan bears good evidence of the fundamental principles of our policy towards Japan. However, it is a matter of regret that our relations with Japan continued to take the stance of bowing and smiling from a distance. It is true that it was India which took initiatives as early as in 1951 to start a programme of offering scholarships for Japanese scholars to study in India, so that bilateral relations would be based on the solid foundations of mutual understanding of each other's cultures and the problems faced in the struggles for development. However, an on-going direct dialogue did not develop between the two countries to bring the nations closer. Both the nations looked to the West and the mutual images reflected in the western prism were considered to be the realities which ought to determine bilateral relations.

Japan's low political profile, closely aligning with the United States in all international affairs, irked India and created a chasm between the two countries. No doubt, this chasm was sought to be crossed when the possibilites of economic cooperation for the development of India opened up in the mid-1950s with the growth of Japan's economic power. However, serious efforts were not made to use this economic pipe-line to get a better understanding of the motivations of Japan's foreign policy postures. Japan appeared to be a nation whose perceptions in foreign policy were no different from that of the United States. Japan's ability to ward off deftly the United States' pressures to build its defence capability and its subtle manoeuvres to regulate relations with various nations in its own national interest went unheeded, as the alliance with the United States of America was strongly reiterated on every possible occasion by Japan. Japan, on its part, was wary of the close links India was forging with the Soviet Union and interpreted them as an "alliance", while the policy of non-alignment was only a facade.

The single-minded concentration of Japan in achieving its own "income-doubling plans," even while gently declining India's efforts to activate Japan's role in East Asia, when India's border problems with China resul-

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ted in an open conflict, could not raise the position of Japan in India's foreign policy calculations. Japan presented the image of a nation unduly obsessed with its own national development, unwilling to involve in any problem of the region or the world, or rather only indulge in involvements where there was a certainty about actual economic returns. This was in contrast to India's own position in the world; its political philosophy as well as its various problems with neighbouring nations made it play a role in international affairs both in the interests of its own development as well as motivated by a strong desire to contribute to the development of an international community where both economic and political inequalities would be reduced and finally removed. This philosophy even made India take the lead in struggles where the vestiges of old colonialism remained or where dangers of the new colonialism arose. Thus we find that while both India and Japan were engaged in the common struggle of building a nation, one was trying to do this even while being in the vortex of the complex interactions of the international world, while the other was trying to take advantage of the spin offs from such complexities, even while keeping itself out. No doubt, the geopolitical position of the two nations also contributed to a certain extent to this state of affairs.

NEW JAPANESE PERCEPTIONS VIABLE FOR SUCCESSFUL INTERACTION

Prime Minister Nakasone's foreign policy, even while maintaining relations with the United States as its axis, gives closer attention to "deepen mutual understanding and enhance friendly relations with Asian nations." While Japan's concept of "Asia" has generally covered the area upto Burma only, Nakasone's enthusiasm to visit India and Pakistan at the earliest possible opportunity, indicates the significance he attaches to the region. India has to take advantage of this increased interest. Nakasone has positively evaluated India's role as the Chairperson of the Non-Aligned Movement and the constructive role it plays in promoting peace and prosperity in the international community. Nakasone further wishes to enhance the role of Japan to that of a bridge between the North and the South and to that of a spokesman of the South, particularly Asia, in the "Club of the Rich." He earnestly desires India's support to enable Japan to play this role. Nakasone is also very keen to improve relations with the Soviet Union and may like to use India also as a channel of communication. Japan shares India's objectives of reduction of world tensions and nuclear disarmament. As has been pointed out by Foreign Minister Abe recently, Japan holds the view that in the name of "deterrence and balance," the nuclear arsenal has been increased. While Japan accepts that "deterrence and balance" are important, the goal should be total annihilation of nuclear armaments through the path of disarmament. Japan, in the post-war years has been following the path of peace and strengthening its demo-

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cratic institutions. It does not pose any threat to India's national security. Therefore, there do not seem to be any major differences in basic premises which would pull the two nations apart. It should, however, be borne in mind that although Japan is a member of the Western bloc of nations, it is not a western nation. Japan has to be cultivated as Japan and not as a Western appendage. Japan's thought patterns, responses, etc., are based on its own culture. A more successful inter-action with Japan can be achieved if this aspect is given careful consideration. Frustrations and disappointments would arise if Japan is expected to react and respond like a nation of the West.

The economic relations between India and Japan have grown over the years, but there is great scope for expansion. Japan takes 8 per cent of India's total trade but India's total share in Japan's total trade is less than one per cent. India still remains a supplier of primary commodities, while importing plant and machinery needed for development of energy, fertilisers and transport sectors. In the field of investments in India, Japan occupies the fourth place, but it is a dismal 0.1 per cent of Japan's total foreign investments. In the field of transfer of technology, there are a number of collaborations in the automobile industry. Reservations on the part of Japan in supplying high technology would be dispelled in the present environment. India has even agreed to meet stricter conditions imposed by the United States about the transfer of high technology and these would be implemented soon. In fact, Japan's spirit of competition would get activated on account of this. The recent pronouncements about opening up of more spheres to private investment would also be noted with interest by Japanese industrial circles.

NEED FOR MUTUAL ACCEPTANCE

It is hoped that the new Government even while continuing to maintain goodwill and cordial relations with Japan makes an effort to include these sentiments in public foreign policy pronouncements. It is worth noting that apart from displaying positive sympathy like other Western nations in our hour of distress, Japan has not been reported to have given refuge to dissident groups from India and encouraged their anti-Indian propaganda. Japan has a high economic involvement in China (total trade in 1983 was $10 billion; Japan's share in foreign firm contracts of $ 10.1 billion is 55 per cent. Loans promised in March 1984 for 1984-1990 amount to $ 5.1 billion to be used for various projects.) and it is in India's political and strategic interests that it strengthens the dialogue with Japan. India also has to strive harder to dispel misunderstandings in Japan that India would like to be a big power dominating the small nations in this region. India should seek greater understanding from Japan about its sincere efforts to save this region from becoming a base for Super Power rivalries.

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As Japan tries to increase its influence and prestige in the non-aligned world through closer cooperation with India, India should use the channel of communication with Japan for a better understanding of ber objectives and goals by other nations in Asia.

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INDIA AND PAKISTAN : DIFFERING SECURITY PERCEPTIONS

By R. RAMA RAO*

The two fragments into which Britain, before its withdrawal from the sub-continent, had split the Indian Empire, carried with them a legacy of mutual distrust. This could not but influence the course of subsequent events in the sub-continent. So have the attitudes of the erstwhile colonial and other powers towards the new states in the light of their respective regional interests. In the comparatively short period of thirty-seven years, short in the life of nations, the two states have been involved in hostilities on three occasions, not counting Pakistan's attack on India in the Kutch sector in April 1965.

Time no doubt is a great healer but it takes same time for deep wounds to heal. The healing process would be aided and succeed only if the governments of both countries are convinced that not mutual hostility but at least co-existence, if not mutual amity, is good for both countries and strive to create conditions for peaceful co-existence. If only one side is anxious to maintain peace and the other wishes to maintain tension, the latter will prevail. Public opinion in the two countries, if mobilised for promoting co-existence rather than confrontation, would help. In democratic countries, at least in theory, public opinion is a force to reckon with and no government can for long afford to disregard public opinion. The media, again in theory, reflects public opinion and serves to consolidate and strengthen it, in the process compelling the government of the day to consider carefully the issues raised. In practice, however, governments, even in "liberal" democracies can influence prominent segments of the media to project issues in the manner desired by the former, i.e., the media can and regrettably are being used to misinform the public at home and abroad. Even so, in democracies, ultimately, governmental efforts not withstanding, at least some sections of the media discover facts and fearlessly expose governments' earlier efforts to misinform the public. This is the inherent strength of democracies.

In dictatorships this is diffcult. But there are dictatorships and dictatorships! In Pakistan, for example, by all accounts the government of General Zia ul Haq, in its own way, has managed to secure tolerance if not the enthusiastic support of a majority of urban middle and lower middle classes for the martial law regime. A section—even a large section—of politically conscious urban and rural groups are totally unreconciled to rule by generals for a number of reasons. Another section of the same strata of Pakistani society again for its own reasons, supports the regime. Thus General Zia is secure,

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provided he continues, with the dexterity he has so amply demonstrated during eight eventful years, to steer his country on a "least risk" course, and there is a good chance of preserving peace, precarious though it may be, in the sub-continent.

FOUNDATIONS OF PAKISTAN'S SECURITY POLICY

CERTAIN other factors too have to be taken into account in understanding Pakistan's attitude towards world events and towards India more particularly. First, to Pakistanis, their country was carved out of undivided India in order to provide Muslims of the sub-continent a homeland where they could practice their religion without hindrance. This however has its qualifications, since Muslims were by no means a persecuted minority in India. On the contrary they were the favoured group in the country, where traditionally the majority community has been the silent sufferer. The creator of Pakistan, Jinnah, wanted his people to shake themselves free from earlier prejudices. He made this clear in his opening address as President of the Constitutent Assembly of Pakistan when he called on his people "to bury the hatchet, let bygones be bygones" and to live as free citizens, contributing their mite for the well being of Pakistan.[1] He also pointed out that "you are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other place of worship in this State of Pakistan...you may belong to any religion or caste—that has nothing to do with the business of the State ...We are starting in the days when there is no discrimination, no distinction between one community and another. We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one State."

Noble principles, well enunciated and not surprising either, since even in 1946, before the final shape of Pakistan was decided upon, Jinnah in an interview with Reuter's correspondent at New Delhi had categorically declared that, the "new state (Pakistan) would be a modern democratic state with sovereignty resting with the people and the members of the new nation having equal rights regardless of their religion, caste or creed."[2] However, shortly after Pakistan came into being its architect passed away. Soon thereafter, Liaqat Ali Khan too departed from the scene, having fallen to an assassin's bullet. However puny Liaqat Ali's stature may seem to some Pakistanis, in comparison with that of the founder of Pakistan, the fact remains that those who succeeded him proved to be shorter in stature and far less competent than Liaqat Ali. Shortly thereafter another respected leader Khan Sahib was also assassinated. Meanwhile, a nexus was established between "the bureaucracy, army and feudal and reactionary elements of the Muslim League,"[3] which grew stronger after Liaqat Ali's death, and this oligarchy, except for brief intervals, has been running the country since then.

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Formal Military Agreement with the United States

After an uneasy three-year period of uncertainty and mismanagement of the country by its politicians, the directions along which Pakistan might move became evident. In 1955, President Eisenhower's Administration proposed a formal military alliance with Pakistan in terms of which the latter could receive American military equipment, training and other forms of support. Pakistan for its part was to offer bases for the United States and support it in the latter's crusade against Communism —i.e., the Soviet Union and at that time China as well. On this, however, Pakistan had its own views and plans. It wanted American military assistance and political support for dealing with India, not for enabling it to fight the Chinese or even the Soviet Union. China's Prime Minister, Chou En-Lai received and accepted Pakistan's secret assurances to this effect and ensured that the understanding arrived at between China and Pakistan would be kept secret from India and the United States.[4] Thus the basis of building up Pakistan's military might with United States' assistance, supplemented by that from others, was for dealing with India and India alone, from a position of strength, not for fighting others. This has been the foundation of Pakistan's foreign and security policy almost from the day it emerged as an independent country.

Predictably, Pakistan's first military ruler attacked India once he received American military equipment and his troops gained confidence in handling them. He was wrongly advised by his ebullient Foreign Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, and he himself had made several errors of judgement. These errors eventually caused his downfall.

The China Factor

After the 1965 debacle, Pakistan once again started building its armed forces and its second military ruler, General Yahya Khan, having achieved a diplomatic triumph by arranging a secret meeting between his American friends President Nixon and Henry Kissinger and the Chinese Chairman Mao and Prime Minister Chou En-Lai in 1971, failed to display statesmanship in dealing with the lawfully elected representatives of the then Eastern Wing of Pakistan. Nor was he well served by his military and other advisers. He, or in his name, Pakistan's Army let loose a reign of terror in Bangladesh, murdering hundreds of thousands of people — Muslims as well as Hindus—and driving out more than ten million Bangladeshis into India. As if this demographic aggression against India was not enough, Pakistani troops began to carry out forays violating Indian territory and attacked Indian border posts. Nor were such attacks confined to India's eastern borders. After all India had to protect its borders and Indian troops had no option but to resist aggression and support Bangladeshis in their struggle for national liberation. What was clear then,

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and even more so now, is that had Pakistan's friends—America and China—cautioned General Yahya Khan, that it would be unwise as well as counter productive to resort to genocide and wholesale destruction of houses and other properties of people of his own country in answer to their legitimate demands for provincial autonomy, Pakistan might have remained intact. The United States was anxious not to displease General Yahya Khan in any way since he had been entrusted with the delicate mission of opening the path to China. The Chinese for their part, realised the Pakistani Army's wrong approach in dealing with the people of Bangladesh but diplomatically stayed quiet. A Pakistani analyst notes that this was because China's commitment was not to undivided Pakistan but to the area constituting the Western Wing.[5]

Bhutto's Contribution to Pakistan's Emergence as a Nuclear Power

After the events of 1971, and restoration of civilian authority in Pakistan, it was not unreasonable to expect that the new Pakistan, a more compact and coherent state blessed with hard working and talented men and women, would devote its energies to develop its economic potential in order to enable its people to live in comfort and create a base for further orderly growth.

Bhutto himself, having been an important member of two martial law regimes was well aware of the power exercised by the civil-military bureaucracy—fuedal elite complex—in Pakistan. His first step on assuming office was to restore the self confidence of the armed forces. Nevertheless some steps were taken to minimise the chances of the revival of *Bonapartism*[6] by creating a Defence Council, presided over by the Defence Minister, and the appointment of a Chairman and Chiefs of Staff, who would be the senior most military adviser to the Defence Minister and the Cabinet but would have no direct control over the forces. Likewise the Chiefs of Army, Navy and Air Force would not have direct control over troops but only the responsibility for coordination. The objective, as mentioned earlier, was to raise the odds against individual senior commanders staging a *coup*. Bhutto had served his country well by securing the return of over 90,000 prisoners of war as well as 5000 square miles of territory that Pakistan had lost during 1971. But his statement[7] that he had secured at the conference table what the armed forces had lost on the battlefield, though correct, caused resentment against him among sections of the latter who even otherwise were perhaps not well disposed towards him. But Bhutto's service to his country in this respect cannot be ignored by historians. So was his work in laying the foundation and providing the impetus for Pakistan's emergence as a nuclear power, as he had rightly declared in his testament shortly before mounting the gallows.[8] His outspokenness and

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his persistence in proceeding with the nuclear programme in defiance of the warnings of US statesmen[9] eventually cost him his life.

Regional Developments Enhance Pak Utility for the US

After eliminating Bhutto, General Zia-ul-Haq steadily consolidated his hold on the country by removing senior generals who in his opinion might have staged a *coup* against him. The first two years in office were his most difficult. Thereafter several regional events served to enhance Pakistan's utility for the United States; first, the Revolution in Iran and the flight of the Shah from his country, ironically brought about by the United States itself and the rise of fundamentalism in that country. The Shah was America's dependable ally in the Gulf region, whose role was to keep the Gulf safe for the United States. The successor government could hardly be considered a friend of the United States, not certainly after the capture of the American Embassy in Teheran by Iranian students and the abortive attempt by US forces to stage a commando operation to recapture the embassy and secure release of American personnel. The continuing Iran-Iraq War, which in the opinion of some Iranians was started by Iraq if not on American instigation, at least in the hope that Iraq would receive support not only from conservative Arab States but from USA as well, is another cause for Iran's resentment against America.

A consequence of the abortive American operation in Iran was that Pentagon realised the need for building secure bases for its RDF (Rapid Deployment Forces) at several points close to the Gulf for instant and effective action in the neighbouring region in furtherance of its interests. Second was the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan. The only safe means of entry into Afghanistan for US agents to organise covert and other resistance operations is through Pakistan. Pakistan could and has provided facilities to Afghan resistance personnel and their US instructors. As *quid pro quo* Pakistan has sought and received assurance of total American support in regional matters, military assistance to the extent considered adequate by Pakistan's armed forces, economic assistance and acceptance, at least tacitly, of Pakistan's nuclear weapons programme.[10] This is because the United States needs Pakistan for its bases close to the Gulf area and Pakistani troops for protecting Gulf Arab regimes. Equally important, with Pakistan firmly tied to the United States, the freedom of manoeuvre by the Soviet Union would be considerably restricted notwithstanding any actions that the United States or United States-aided local groups may take in Iran. This is the significance of the assurance given by Vice President Bush to Pakistani leaders during his visit to that country in May 1984, to the effect that American interest and commitment to Pakistan transcended Afghanistan. More recently, US diplomats have assured Pakistan that any improvement in US-India relations

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will not be at Pakistan's expense.[11] India's concern is that an additional objective of America arming Pakistan heavily, is to utilise the latter as a lever against India.

PAKISTAN'S SECURITY CONCERNS

Every country has certain basic security concerns arising from its geo-strategic location, the character, strength and attitudes at any given time of neighbouring countries, and equally on the country's own internal political dynamics and attitudes of the ruling elite or party. In the case of Pakistan, threats from external sources have been minimal if not altogether absent. Soviet troops have been in Afghanistan since December 1979, but judging from Pakistani troop dispositions which are not close to the Afghan borders but to those of India, it is difficult to maintain that Pakistan fears aggression from across its Western borders. Nor does it have any concerns regarding its borders with China since the two countries have repeatedly affirmed that maintenance of close friendship with each other is one of their principal foreign policy objectives.

This leaves Iran and India. Iran under the Shah was closely allied to Pakistan both as a non-Arab Muslim country as well as a partner in the old Central Treaty Organisation formed under US auspices. The new Iranian regime is fundamentalist, based on Shiite principles. Pakistan is an Islamic State[12] and General Zia-ul-Haq has been extremely careful in adopting and declaring, whenever necessary, Pakistan's neutrality in the Iran-Iraq conflict. Hence Iran has no cause for complaint. Furthermore, Iran has its hands full with several problems and has no reason to confront Pakistan, despite the latter's alliances with the United States and Arab States. It could, in fact, be argued that should Iran so much as consider confronting Pakistan, America using that as an excuse might land its RDF on the coast of Iranian Baluchistan and establish positions inland as well. Hence Pakistan has nothing to worry about its Iranian frontier also except that in the event of American overt or covert intervention in Iran, the Shiite minority of Pakistan may feel extremely insecure and may react. Hence the only frontier from which, for the sake of argument, Pakistan could feel threatened is that with India. Here at the risk of stating the obvious, it must be said that India has not in the past and is not going to, now or in the future, attack any country. It has been the victim of aggression all along. At best it reacts and tries to repel aggression.

General Zia-ul-Haq is not unaware of this but given the different pulls within his country, the India bogey, as in the past, could be, resurrected, and once resurrected could make Pakistan's ruler a prisoner of his own actions.

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There is increasing concern in India on this count. Several factors tend to reinforce this concern. First, Pakistan has already secured extremely powerful air, naval and land attack weapons in the form of aircraft, destroyers, other surface craft and submarines and heavy guns that have dual (atomic as well as conventional) capability. A section of opinion, largely based on information filtering through from abroad, consider that Pakistan is relatively weak in land attack weapons (i.e., tanks). This, however, is not the case ; Pakistan has secured large numbers of tanks from China as well as West Europe and elsewhere and must have methodically "up gunned" them. Second, Pakistan's electronic surveillance systems, supplemented by information provided by those established by America around this country, would enable Pakistani forces to destroy any Indian forces (air, naval and land) found, thus dealing a crippling blow on India. Subsequently, Pakistani forces could also mount attacks on India's key political, defence and industrial centres, further crippling the country.

Third, and most serious, Pakistan is already a nuclear power[13] and its capability may be approaching that of Israel in this regard. As early as April 1979, General Zia-ul-Haq had frankly indicated to US Deputy Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, that Pakistan intended to develop nuclear weapons because India already possessed nuclear capability and the situation in neighbouring Iran and Afghanistan was unstable and hence it was essential for Pakistan to have the weapon. Similar statements, directly as well as off the record, have been made by Pakistani spokesmen on several occasions since then.

The position now is that Pakistan is set to make not a few but a sizeable number of nuclear weapons. Senator Crauston, after a visit to Pakistan, had pointed out in the Senate that, that country was producing enriched uranium on an "assembly line" basis.[14] The senator's observations have been confirmed by the creator of Kahuta and the architect of Pakistan's bomb, Dr. Abdul Qadeer himself.[15] It is difficult to resist the conclusion that Pakistan has already piled up a modest-sized nuclear arsenal based on the design provided by China in its 1964 test and is now fabricating some hydrogen bombs as well.

All these are relevant in the context of Indian security. Indian defence planners will not be wrong in assuming that General Zia ul Haq is an extremely careful commander. He may be expected to follow the principles of Mao Tse Tung, namely, to attack when victory is certain, to avoid attacking when victory is uncertain and absolutely refuse to consider armed conflict if such a conflict has any chance of adversely affecting the country's integrity and safety.

Even a minor engagement or a local war as Ayub Khan had wanted his 1965 attack on India to be, or a punitive action for

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quelling a local rebellion, as Yahya Khan wanted his operation in Bangladesh to be, could ultimately get out of control. General Zia is not going to make similar mistakes. However, his advisers may argue that with the formidable conventional strength that they have built up with American and Chinese assistance and the nuclear might that it has acquired in a decade of intelligent and hard work, Pakistan can indeed deal India a crippling blow and further, that if India is allowed time the prospective victim too might build some nuclear weapons and a preemptive strike may become difficult. These arguments are, no doubt, reminiscent of those used by Ayub Khan's advisers two decades ago. Hopefully, General Zia ul Haq will not allow himself to be pushed to the point of no return. The reasons for hope are that given Pakistan's internal dynamics, unless Zia secures a victory over India in the manner that Israel demonstrated in Egypt in 1967, by destroying the latter's air and ground forces before they could move, Zia's position at home may become untenable. Further, if India is not wiped out in the first wave of attack, India may suffer, but the shock waves that would arise in the wake of the first phase of Pakistan's attack would not only have their impact on India but far more perhaps on Pakistan. Here comes the uncertainty of victory. In a dictatorship—although Pakistan is set to transform itself into a state with a civilian head—the main source of concern for the ruler are the disgruntled members of the armed forces. Several of these have been rounded up from time to time in Pakistan. This danger will arise again at the first sign of trouble at the front. Additionally, there is the problem of minority provinces and this problem added to the others could constitute the proverbial last straw on the camel's back.

India's interests as well as the true interests of all in the sub-continent are clear—namely to prevent a war, conventional and even more earnestly, a nuclear war. Furthermore, India is eager to promote positive cooperation among the countries of the sub-continent, big and small, in matters of trade, exchange of scholars and generally to bring about conditions under which families in one country could visit their relatives in another without irksome restrictions, newspapers and literature published in one country may be available in another and at least over a period to ensure that mutual suspicious are replaced by mutual trust.

Lest impetuous elements on the other side may be tempted with prospects of easy victory, India would need to build up its defence—conventional and nuclear—while persevering in its efforts to establish cordial relations with Pakistan as well as other neighbours.

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4 On 23 April 1955 at Bandung, China's Prime Minister Chou En-Lai stated that he had received assurances from the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mohammad Ali Bogra, that although Pakistan was a member of a military treaty it was not against China and further that if the United States took aggressive action under the military treaty or if it launched global war. Pakistan would not be involved in it just as it was not involved in the Korean War, China and Pakistan also agreed to keep this understanding seeret from both the United States and India.
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10 *The Sunday Telegraph* (London), as early as January 1980, had suggested that Pakistan has probably received tacit approval from USA and China for going ahead with its nuclear programme. See news report in *Patriot* (New Delhi), 14 January, 1980.

11 Vice President George Bush's statement reported in *Statesman* (New Delhi), 19 May, 1984 and Armacost's interview at Islamabad in *Times of India* (New Delhi), 13 March, 1985.

12 As Chief Justice Mohammad Munir has noted, it is difficult to define precisely what Islam is since no two schools of Islamic theology agree on the subject. There are 73 sects in Islam. According to Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jilani there are as many as 150 sects and according to the followers of one sect those of all other sects are heretics. Hence the difficulty in prescribing Islamic laws in a country where members of more than one Islamic sect may be living. See n. 2, p. 140.

13 In the *Hindustan Times* (New Delhi), 8 April 1979, General Zia's stand was reinforced by the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, Senator Zabblock when hepointed out to the Secretary of State that security concerns were a factor in Pakistan's drive for acquiring nuclear weapons.

14 Senator Cranston's address in the Senate on 21 June 1984 reproduced in *Strategic Digest* (New Delhi), August 1984, pp. 827-833.

15 Dr. Qadeer has clearly pointed out that Pakistan is among the top five or six countries which have uranium enrichment facilities on a large scale. In this respect Pakistan is on par with Britain and West Germany, he said, adding that the capa-

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cities available in Japan and India. for example, are quite small. He also added significantly that Pakistan has the capacity to enrich uranium beyond 90 per cent which is needed for the bomb—A or H. *Times of India*, 14 March, 1985.

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FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES BEFORE THE NEW GOVERNMENT : THE SRI LANKA PROBLEM

By S. C. GANGAL* –

Sri Lanka's ethnic problem—the problem of the political and socio-economic status and related questions concerning the large number of Tamil settlers in its northern and eastern districts—dates from the time that India and Sri Lanka (earlier called Ceylon) got their independence in the late forties, or even earlier.

The Tamils in Sri Lanka have contributed greatly to the country's tea plantations and industry and have made many other useful inputs into the island's economy. But they have, for long, been subjected to innumberable disabilities—such as lack of full civil and property rights, non-assimilation into the national mainstream and even statelessness—and have been the target of periodic violence and killings. In order to protect themselves from these orgies of violence and to advance their legitimate interests, they have, from time to time, formed various associations or organizations. Of these, the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) – currently led by A. Amirthalingam —has been about the most organized and well-known at home and abroad. In view of the fact that generally the Tamils had migrated from India during the past seven or eight decades, they tend to look up to India for sympathy and moral and material support during periods of crisis, severe harrassment and violence.

By the same token—and also on account of its concern for peace and good neighbourly relations in the region—the Government and people of India could not be totally unconcerned about developments touching on this problem. Most recently, President Zail Singh expressed this concern in his address to the joint sitting of the two Houses of Parliament on 17 January 1985 : "The ethnic violence in Sri Lanka is a matter of deep concern to us. We are convinced that use of force cannot lead to a solution. A political process, in which all the concerned parties are involved, can alone lead to a just settlement. Conditions must be created in Sri Lanka to enable the return of the large number of refugees (estimated to be over 40,000) who have been forced to take shelter in India." A week earlier, the Sri Lankan Minister of Rural Industries, S. Thondaman had met Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, who reportedly took the opportunity to express his concern at the continuing violence and tension-prone situation in Sri Lanka.

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GENESIS OF PROBLEM

THE current situation arose from massive violence and killings directed against the Tamils at the end of July 1983, which has continued since then. Though—as noted earlier—Sri Lanka has been marked by periodic occurrence of ethnic violence during the last twenty-five years or more, the orgy of violence this time was (and has been) rather unprecedented both in scale and quality, for the guardians of law and armed personnel not only connived at killings and arson but also indulged in it. President Jayewardene himself admitted it and independent foreign media newspapers, like *The Times* (London), *Daily Telegraph* (London), *Washington Post* and *Pravda* (Moscow) confirmed it. Also, during the early, critical days of the current violent outbursts, President Jayewardene repeatedly gave somewhat provocative statements like, "India was harbouring the Tamil terrorists" and "Indira Gandhi should keep her hands off Sri Lanka." Moreover, according to a UPI report at the time, Sri Lanka had sought military and other assistance from Britain and neighbouring countries—Pakistan and Bangladesh—while such aid as India offered for the transport of the victims of violence to safer places was declined.

That was July-August 1983, about the most explosive point of the crisis. Aghast at the spate of violence, the manifestly uninvolved *Washington Post* advanced the view that "a separate Tamil State (*Eelam*) would be the only alternative" to the situation which had emerged in Sri Lanka. Probably to the same end, many voices in India demanded "strong action" on the part of the Government of India to save the Tamils in Sri Lanka from "genocide." In an interview with the BBC, President Jayewardene himself imagined the possibility of an Indian "invasion," for he was quoted as having said : "If India by some chance decides to invade us, we will fight ; may be (we will) lose, but with dignity."

INDIA FIRM AND RESTRAINED

Despite these tragic happenings and rather unfortunate statements or moves, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi kept her cool. *And that showed and set the pattern of India's policy to the Sri Lanka problem not only during her prime ministership but down to this day.* Not only did Mrs. Gandhi show, as she put it in Parliament, "restraint combined with firmness"—she went further in advancing the cause of peace through several steps in the direction of friendly intercession and conciliation. Soon after the eruption of violence in July, she sent the then External Affairs Minister, P.V. Narasimha Rao to Colombo. While in Colombo, Narasimha Rao had two rounds of talks with the Sri Lanka President Jayewardene and had discussions with Prime Minister R. Premadasa, Foreign Minister A.C.S. Hameed and Home Minister Devanayagam. He also had telephonic conversations with several leaders of the TULF, including its Secretary-General

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A Amirthalingam. Several first-hand reports from victims and eye-witnesses of the large-scale killings, arson, looting and other brutalities were gathered and restraint advised to all concerned. Later she sent G. Parthasarthi, Chairman of the Policy Planning Committee in the External Affairs Ministry, twice to Colombo. He also held several rounds of talks with President Jayewardene and other Sri Lankan leaders and explored and advanced the possibilities of an all-party meeting in Colombo to resolve the problem domestically. He also offered India's "good offices" towards this end as best India could. For her part, more directly, Mrs. Gandhi did not let the tragic Sri Lanka happenings overshadow or mar the proceedings of the South Asian Regional Coorperation (SARC) Meeting, then in session in New Delhi. She also skilfully avoided any resolution in Parliament (then in session in New Delhi) to "condemn" the Sri Lanka killings. And she repeatedly, and unreservedly declared—as noted by President Jayewardene himself in his national broadcast on 21 August 1983—that India stood for the unity and territorial integrity of Sri Lanka. She reiterated this declaration when the brother and special emissary of the Sri Lanka President, Hector Jayewardene met and conferred with her in New Delhi. Later in November 1983, Mrs. Gandhi and Jayewardene met and held talks in New Delhi at the time of the Commonwealth summit. At that time Jayewardene was able to assure Mrs. Gandhi that he would be able to hold at bay the hawks and extremists in Sri Lanka and extend a wide measure of autonomy to the Tamils. And, to that end, he would soon hold an all-party meet in Colombo.

SRI LANKA REMAINS INTRANSIGENT

However, to this day, the professed Tamil autonomy measures are no where in sight and Sinhalese militancy and violence against the Tamils continues. Often there are reports of even police and para-military harassment, intimidation and killing of the Tamils. More recently, the Sri Lankan naval patrols have been violating Indian territorial waters harassing and capturing Indian fisherman and other Indian personnel. In the meantime, Colombo has blown hot and cold by turns against India. On 25 May 1984, Prime Minister R. Premadasa, speaking in Sri Lanka's Parliament, accused Mrs. Gandhi of "aiding and abetting terrorism" in Sri Lanka. He added : "We have tolerated India enough. Let India invade us. Let them come. We will see." It is significant that the Sri Lanka Opposition leader, Anura Bandaranaike characterised the Prime Minister's unprovoked statement as "a declaration of war against India." However, only a week later on 31 May, in Hongkong, Jayewardane told Reuters that "the Indian Government was being very cooperative in settling the island's ethnic problem." After a month, on 1 July 1984, Jayewardane

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arrived in New Delhi to confer with Mrs. Indira Gandhi on the vexed Tamil issue, at the latter's invitation. As it turned out, during the Delhi talks, Jayewardene (as several Indian editorials put it) was "intransigent" all the way on the "Tamil question." He foreswore any Indian mediation or "good offices" and refused to give any indication of the way his mind was working. He had no regrets for having told his hosts in China—from where he had arrived in Delhi—that the Tamil issue in his country was no more than of organised terrorism "engineered by elements in India." Nor did he see anything wrong in having inducted into Sri Lanka the Israeli secret service agents (MOSSAD) and the British mercenaries (the SAS) or in having strengthned the American connection through the VOA and other trade deals and contracts. Indeed, he went farther and even sought to draw an unwarranted parallel between the Tamil issue in Sri Lanka and, as he put it, the "unresolved" Kashmir problem in India. Soon afterwards (on 27 August) Jayewardene's hawkish Prime Minister, Premadasa, compared India with "an evil-minded person who looked with envy on the good fortune of a neighbour." And even as Premadasa was holding forth against India, his army personnel had reportedly rounded up as many as 1700 Tamil men from the northern town of Velvethithurai and Jaffna to undisclosed destinations without any charge or warrant of arrest.

NEED FOR INITIATIVE AND DYNAMISM

This is the situation in Sri Lanka—of unabated violence, wholesale arrests and beatings of Tamils by the so-called security forces, looting and arson, on the one hand, and of violation of Indian territorial waters by Sri Lankan patrols and of the detention and even killing of Indian fishermen, coupled with charges of aggressive designs against India, on the other—that confronts the new government of India, headed by Rajiv Gandhi. Needless to say that it has sinister implications for India both at home and externally. At home, the continued suppression and annihilation of the Tamils in Sri Lanka—with whom the Indian people have historical and emotive links—is not unlikely to generate elements of insurgency or guerilla activity (directed at Sri Lanka) in areas close to Sri Lankan territory in South India. In view of the Indian ethos and policy, it may be a very distant or remote possibility. Even so it deserves to be kept in mind and calls for early action to defuse or resolve the situations. In any case, the Government of India should be able to use all its skill and resources to restrain Jayewardene's government from adding fuel to the fire in the situation by asking the latter to hold its hand in the proposed settling of 30-50 thousand Sinhalese families in the northern districts so as to crush the strength and morale of the Tamils.

Externally, the increasing induction of Israeli agencies, British mercenaries, American investments and media and possibly of American and

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Chinese arms supplies to Sri Lanka, that is, in an area so close to the shores of India in the south—together with the massive American arms supplies to Pakistan in the West and to a number of countries in Southeast Asia, not too far removed from India—signals (to say the least) the onset of an organized "Cold War" that tends to coil all around the territory of India.

So far—in keeping with the policy of "caution" and "restraint" as laid down by the late Prime Minister Indira Gandhi—the Indian Government has played it cool and with a marked sense of balance and sobriety. In respect of Sri Lanka, Rajiv Gandhi has reportedly kept in touch with President Jayewardene and has proposed wider consultation and interaction, preferably at the highest level. At the same time, he has spoken (especially during his election tour of the South in December) of the "need for new thinking" to deal with the Sri Lanka problem. He has also shown acute awareness of the growing security threat to India arising from the induction of sophisticated armaments in Pakistan (and from the latter's nuclear designs) and in the neighbourhood generally. That is all to the good. But the time has come for this awareness to be translated into concrete policy and effort. Parliament was in session recently; but the government did not take the opportunity to spell out its policy options or propose a definite course of concrete action on these highly significant and sensitive issues—except to say that it was fully concerned about them and was in readiness to deal with possible eventualities. This shows that the government has either not yet drawn its plans or it does not want to share them with Parliament and the people. That is for the government to clarify. Meanwhile, it may be suggested that some steps or policy announcements, along the following lines, be urgently made :

1) A meeting between Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and President Jayewardene should take place without further delay. Its urgency must be fully and firmly impressed on the Sri Lankan leadership.
2) Utmost effort must be undertaken to ensure and convince Sri Lanka that India is not giving any help or encouragement to "terrorist" elements in that country.
3) Sri Lanka must be asked to ensure forthwith that violation of Indian waters and harassment and seizure of Indian fishermen and their boats must stop immediately. And conditions must be created for an early return of Sri Lanka refugees from India. This, more than anything else, would take care of the so-called terrorist activity alleged to be originating from Indian territory.
4) Outside powers—believed to be fishing in Sri Lanka's troubled waters—should be told to keep off the region. They should be further told with "firmness"—to borrow Mrs. Gandhi's expression—that any disregard of this advice or warning would adversely affect their relations with India.

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The new government has a massive mandate behind it, and people tend to associate a measure of initiative and dynamism with it – especially with its young and somewhat unconventional leader, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. It has already shown bold initiative in some areas of domestic politics – for example in the early adoption of the Anti-Defection Bill. Let it be reflected early in the realm of foreign policy and relations, especially with regard to neighbours like Sri Lanka (or Pakistan) which, as the Prime Minister himself said, in his first broadcast to the nation on 5 January, is "one aspect of our foreign policy (that) needs special attention."

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INDIA AND BANGLADESH

By Vivek Bhattacharya*

WHEN the Sovereign Democratic Republic of Bangladesh was formally proclaimed on 17 April 1971 at Mujibnagar in Bangladesh by the new nation's Acting President, Syed Nazrul Islam, all freedom loving peoples of the world greeted it. The entire mass of humanity on the soil of India was thrilled. It was a great achievement for the valiant freedom fighters. India stood by the people of Bangladesh all along the struggle. The bonds of friendship were written in letters of blood and fire. This friendship is eternal.

Before this, when a massive attack by the Pakistani Armed Forces, despatched from West Pakistan, was unleashed against the people of East Bengal, with a view to suppressing their aspirations for freedom, the late Indian Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi was the first to lodge her strong protest. She raised the matter before the nation through her historic statement in the Lok Sabha on 31 March 1971. Mrs. Gandhi said : "Something new had happened in East Bengal—a democratic action where an entire people had spoken with almost one voice. We had welcomed this, not because we wanted any interference in another country's affairs, but, because these were the values for which we have always stood and for which we have always spoken out. And we had hoped that this action would lead to a new situation in our neighbouring country which would help us to get closer, which would help to serve our own people better and create an entirely new situation...this has not happened and a wonderful opportunity...has been lost and has been lost in a manner which is tragic, which is agonising and about which we cannot find strong enough words to speak because this again is a new situation. It is not merely the suppression of a movement but it is meeting an unarmed people with tanks."

INDIA FIRST TO SUPPORT BANGLADESH

India was the first country to stand shoulder to shoulder to fight the brutal aggression on the people of East Bengal in 1971. According to no less a person than *Bangabandhu* Mujibur Rahman, this genocide "resulted in the killing of about 30 lakh Bengalis and a refugee influx of about 1 crore into India."[1]

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India again, was the first country to tell the United Nations on 1 April 1971, that "the scale of human suffering in East Bengal is such that it ceases to be a matter of domestic concen for Pakistan alone."

On 3 December 1971, Indian forces and the *Mukti Bahini* liberated the important towns of Jessore, Sylhet, Dalmonirhat, Meherpur and Sunamganj in Bangladesh. Next day General Manekshaw, Chief of the Indian Army, called upon the Pakistani troops in Bangladesh to surrender. On 15 December 1971, Lt. General A.A.K. Niazi, Commander of the Pakistan Occupation Forces in Banglhdesh, sought a ceasefire. General Manekshaw asked him "to surrender unconditionally by 9 A.M. on 16 December."

Lt. General Arora, General Officer Commanding-in-Chief Eastern-Command, accepted the unconditional surrender of Pakistani forces in Dacca. The late Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi announced unilateral ceasefire on the western front with effect from 20.00 hours on 17 December.

Ninety-three thousand prisoners of war surrendered to the joint forces of India and Bangladesh. It was indeed an historic event in the annals of mankind's struggle for freedom.

Indira Gandhi's Praise for Mukti Bahini

Mrs. Gandhi had tremendous faith in the youth all over the world. She had great faith in the *Mukti Bahini* volunteers. In an earlier speech to a public meeting at Ramlila Grounds, Delhi, on 12 December 1971, Mrs. Gandhi said : "And while we praise our armed forces, let us not forget our brethren of the *Mukti Bahini* who had no training for war. Boys of the age of 12 have joined the *Mukti Bahini* and they have gone to the front after a few days of training. They were fighting with great courage. It is not an ordinary courage, which inspires men and women, the old and the young of Bangladesh. This courage could come only out of a burning desire for freedom The Bangladesh of their dream has today become a reality."[2]

Mrs. Gandhi also had tremendous faith in the people of East Bengal. In a Press Meet at National Press Club, Washington, she said on 5 November 1971. "I should like to plead with the world not to press me for a solution which leaves out the people of East Bengal. It is illusion to think the fate of a country can be decided without reference to its people. Once again, we see the old habit of under-estimating the power of nationalism in Asia and of the demand of the people of Asia to make their own choice." Mrs. Gandhi told the American correspondents boldly : "Those who subscribe to the belief that democratically reached decisions are the most viable should recognise that the process of democracy admits no geographical disqualification. If democracy is good for

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you, it is good for us in India and it is good for the people of East Bengal."[3]

Firm Stand by Indira Gandhi

Mrs. Gandhi championed all the causes she espoused. She exuded confidence. She was bold. She definitely could assert herself and assume upon herself the leadership without caring for the consequences. She knew she would not fail. She spoke on behalf of the oppressed millions. And this she proved during the historic Bangladesh struggle for freedom. Sheikh Mujibur Rehman, the great fighter patriot of Bangladesh, who was already sentenced to death and whose grave was literally dug was miraculously saved by Mrs. Indira Gandhi. *Bangabandhu* was ever gratful to her on this account.

Mrs. Gandhi visited Bangladesh immediately after its liberation. She addressed a historic mammoth public rally at Suhrawardy Udyan in Dacca on 17 March 1972. She and Sheikh Mujib quoted extensively from Tagore. Both reminded the people of Bangladesh of Tagore's stirring poems of struggle against oppressors, how a person who stoops to oppression is equally guilty as the one who oppresses. Mrs. Gandhi also quoted from Tagore's famous poem *Africa* where the world poet gave a clarion call to the entire people of Africa to stand united and fight against colonial rulers. It was a great day for the freedom fighters throughout the world. Mrs. Gandhi said, "I have come here today to pay homage to those millions who have sacrificed their lives and to the young and old who have borne arms to liberate their country. I salute the gallant men who have fought this battle, for it is their sacrifice and courage that has brought you freedom. To the ten millions, who had to leave their homes and seek shelter in our country, and the millions more who were forced out of their homes, and who today are starting a new life, I give my good wishes."

POST LIBERATION PROBLEMS

With the liberation of Bangladesh, an organised programme for the repatriation of refugees was put into operation from 1 January 1972. This was a challenging task but it was completed within a record period of three months. A record number of refugees—and their number was nothing less than ten million—returned to their homeland. As the special trains left the soil of India they all shouted in one voice—Hindus, Muslims and Cristians—*Indira Mata Zindabad*. They were simple people. They did not understand politics. But they knew their lives were in danger. And one single lady came to their rescue with the entire nation at her back to save them.

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Under Mrs. Gandhi's direct orders all these ten million people were given at the time of repatriation all necessary facilities in the shape of two weeks' ration in kind, and journey money. The Government of India also gave the Government of Bangladesh financial aid to enable each refugee to be given on arrival at the destination in Bangladesh a cash allowance of Rs. 30 per head.

To quote the UN High Commissioner for Refugees : "The whole unprecedented episode of Bangladesh refugees looks now like a nightmare." It was indeed an unthinkable and insurmountable problem solved so efficiently by the Indian administration. It is on international record that "between 25 March 1971 and 25 March 1972 India handled with great decisiveness the tremendous tasks of reciving and maintaining 10 million refugees from Bangladesh and of arranging their orderly return home—a performance which would have done credit to any administration anywhere in the world."

Communication Links Established

India was perhaps the first country to establish postal links with Bangladesh. The first exhange of postal mail between these two great countries took place on 21 December 1971. Inland postal rates apply to this mail service. India also assisted Bangladesh in the restoration of telecommunication links between different cities in Bangladesh.

In the same month India introduced a rail link with Bangladesh. The first train from India steamed into Bangladesh on its way to Jessore on 29 December 1971. It may be recalled here, that the rail link between East Bengal and West Bengal was cut off in 1965 following the Indo-Pakistan conflict. Assam has also been linked with Bangladesh.

Similarly, the inland water transport services between Calcutta and Assam through East Bengal, which were discontinued in the wake of the Indo-Pak conflict in 1965, were resumed through Bangladesh. A trade agreement was entered into between the Government of India and the Government of Bangladesh on 28 March 1982 wherein the two governments agreed to make mutually beneficial arrangements for use of waterways for commerce between the two countries and for passage of goods between two places in one country through the territory of the other.

Massive Support by India

Here it should be recorded that not only the Indian National Congress or the Government of India but all other political parties in India, in brief, the people of India, wholeheartedly supported the struggle of the people of Bangladesh. The General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, Rajeshwara Rao, wrote on 5 May 1971 : "On behalf of the

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Communist Party of India, I appeal to all the communist socialist democratic parties and mass organisations to support the heroic struggle of the people of Bangladesh, for their just rights and national independence, forced on them by the Pakistan military *junta,* with all their might. I also appeal to them to urge their respective governments to recognise the independent Government of Bangladesh. The unfortunate and heroic people of Bangladesh need all sympathy and support of the people with human conscience the world over."[4]

An Eternal Tie

The tie between India and Bangladesh is perhaps greater than many. To a great extent it is mainly due to the cultural heritage. Both will certainly take pride in any international seminar on Rabindranath Tagore, Sarat Chandra Chatterjee or Kazi Nazrul Islam. Both draw great inspiration from the immortal works of the two great poets—Tagore and Nazrul. Both poets definitely played a unique role in stirring the freedom movement in both India and Bangladesh.

Perhaps no song in history has inspired people so much as Rabindranath Tagore's *Sonar Bangla.*

Amar Sonar Bangla
ami tomai bhalobasi
Chirodin tomar akash, tomar batash
amar pranay bajai banshi

For the people of Bangladesh it was their battle hymn. Its texts, its tune, its rhythm inspired an unarmed people to face the well equipped brutal Pakistani Army. Now, in fitness of things, it is their proud national anthem.

India too has drawn great inspiration from the patriotic songs composed by Gurudev Rabindiranath Tagore. *Janagana Mana,* the morning song of India, which is the country's national anthem is also composed by Tagore. This is a unique point of common bond.

In India's struggle for freedom many great patriots who sacrificed their lives hailed from East Bengal. They marched hand in hand with the freedom fighters of the two great republics. *Vande Mataram,* the war cry against British imperialism, was accepted by the Indian National Congress in the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee Session held in 1905 in Barisal. That spark finally had spread throughout India. Many martrys hailed from East Bengal; Barisal, Chittagong and Dacca were the hub of terroristic activities against the foreign rulers. Who in India and Bangladesh has not heard of the Chittagong Armoury Raid ? It will certainly

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occupy a permanent place in the history of the freedom movement for both the nations.

Economic Cooperation

As next door neighbours too, Bangladesh and India are definitely developing closer and ever closer relations. They are improving their ties further with the passage of time and events. The Indo-Bangladesh Joint Commission was set up in October 1982. It has helped "nurture the growth of economic and commercial ties between the two countries." A second meeting of this body was held in Dhaka from 19 – 21 August 1983 at the ministerial level. This definitely provided further impetus to the growing economic relations between the two countries. This gave a rare opportunity of having an intimate dialogue for bilateral trade between the governments on matters of mutual interest.

The first meeting of the Standing Committee of this Joint Economic Commission was also held in Dhaka on 14-15 June 1983 at the Secretaries level. During that meeting a government-to-govenment credit of Rs. 20 crores was extended to Bangladesh by India for the import of Indian machinery and capital goods for projects in the public sector. An Agreement on Cooperation with the Indian Council of Agricultural Research was also signed. The Export and Import Bank of India concluded agreements with Bangladesh banks, extending to them commercial credit of Rs. 40 crores. Another Rs. 20 crores to finance the private sector's participation in economic development was also pledged. That was in August and September 1983. There are problems too. They are to be settled by mutual dialogue. It is recorded, "While there has been a steady and continuous improvement in our bilateral relations with Bangladesh, particlularly in the area of economic cooperation, certain long-pending problems have persisted, such as the augmentation of the Ganga waters at Farakka, the large scale infiltration of migrants from Bangladesh to the contiguous Indian states and the problem of settlement of claims of Indian nationals whose properties were taken over by the Government of erstwhile East Pakistan, now Bangladesh, as vested property."

It is recognised by both India and Bangladesh that without the augmentation of the Ganga waters, there will not be enough water to share between the two countries during the dry season. Efforts to arrive at a mutually acceptable solution to this problem have continued, even though the two sides have not been able to begin the pre-feasibility study of augmentation possibilities. India signed a Memorandum of Understanding in January 1980 according to which Bangladesh was to receive 58,500 cusecs of Ganga waters over a period of ten days. As regards the sharing of Teesta waters, the two countries signed an agreement in Dhaka on

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20 July 1983 on a sharing formula under which India will have 39 per cent of the waters and Bangladesh 36 per cent with 25 per cent remaining unallocated pending scientific studies which will be jointly completed by the end of 1985. As regards the vested properties of Indian nationals, it was conveyed to the Bangladesh Government that such properties be released to the rightful owners and that the Bangladesh Government should desist from taking over, disposing or selling these properities without settling the question of compensation.

Progress has been made in the demarcation of the over 4000 kilometers long Indo-Bangladesh boundary. To quote an official record, "India has continued to make efforts to implement the terms of the lease-in-perpetuity of the Tin Bigha area to provide Bangladesh overland transit facilities through a corridor across Indian territory, enabling it to have access to its enclaves."

Recently, at the second meeting of the Bangladesh-India Joint Economic Commission, which met in New Delhi in October 1984, new proposals for economic cooperation between the two countries were formulated. The Joint Economic Commission has taken positive steps towards removing imbalances in trade and commerce between the two countries. India had earlier agreed to buy 20,000 tons of newsprint from Bangladesh annually for three years, beginning in 1983-84, besides increasing import of urea, bitumen and printing paper to help India balance the two-way trade. In return, Bangladesh offered to import more Indian coal instead of obtaining it from other countries by paying heavier freight charges. The Commission also agreed to the setting up of a cement factory in Sylhet, a sponge iron factory in Chittagong, and the issue of rehabilitation of sugar mills in Bangladesh came up once again for discussion.

In the sphere of science and technology, another agreed area of cooperation, the two countries have charted out a new programme for 1984—86 covering areas ranging from new and renewable sources of energy to meteorology and medical research. This programme was finalised at a joint official level meeting in August 1984 in New Delhi. Also, significant progress in cooperation in the industrial sector has been finalised. Feasibility studies on major projects are also under preparation.

There is a genuine effort to improve transport and communication facilities which will lead to greater transactions between the two countries. With this end in view a new Protocol on Inland Water Transit and Trade was concluded between the countries on 8 November 1983. The Inland Water Transport Protocol and other bilateral agreements between the two countries will not only facilitate inter-country trade and economic cooperation but also strengthen the bonds of friendship between the two countries.

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The number of telephone circuits available between Dhaka and New Delhi, Bombay and Calcutta, have been doubled according to the latest available reports.

More than hundred scholars have made use of scholarships offered by India during recent years. They are engaged in higher studies in Indian universities and technical institutes. Training facilities have also been made available to Bangladesh personnel. This includes special training in railway management. Of late, some Indian experts have also visited Bangladesh to "provide consultancy in the areas of small-scale and cottage industries, sugar technology, the application of vegetable dyes, curriculum development at the school level and maintenance of zoological gardens."

As a Member of the Non-Aligned Movement, of which India is presently the Head, Bangladesh is actively associated. General Ershad had a special meeting with the late Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi, and in March 1983 on a TV interview expressed his deep respect and affection for her role in the Bangladesh freedom movement. He was one of the first to express deep sympathy for the people of India when Mrs. Gandhi was brutally assassinated by her own security guards. The people of Bangladesh, the masses, the intellectuals expressed their shock. The Communist Party of Bangladesh held special condolence meetings in Dhaka.

India stands for better understanding and lasting peace in the world. It definitely wants even better relations with the neighbouring countries. And among them Bangladesh will be on the top. In his broadcast to the nation over AIR and TV on 5 January 1985, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi said : "We have inherited a well-tested and consistent foreign policy which serves our national interest. We have always believed in working for peace. Our policy is to be friends with all countries on the basis of reciprocity and mutual benefit. Our commitment to non-alignment and a new world economic order based on justice, equality and equal co-operation is unshakeable. This means a total dedication to the twin causes of peace and development. We also believe in safeguarding independence and non-intervention."

The whole glittering hall at Vigyan Bhavan in New Delhi cheered enthusiastically when on 7 January 1985, the Bangladesh Film *Agami*, directed by Moheshdul Islam was awarded the Silver Peacock award for best direction. Manmohan Krishna, President of the All India Confederation of Chinegoers, presented the award to the Bangladesh embassy official.

Let it be the beginning of a new era with greater exchange of cultural programmes and economic activities.

February 1985.

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WEST ASIAN CONFLICTS AND INDIAN RESPONSES

By CHRISTOPHER S. RAJ*

In recent months significant developments have unfolded in the West Asian region. The Iran-Iraq War has again flared up dangerously. The Iranian allegations of Iraq using chemical weapons continues. Apart from the usual land, aerial and tanker warfare, the current phase of the Iraq-Iran war has witnessed the use of sophisticated missiles such as the Soviet-made Scud-B, surface-to-surface missile (SSM) by the Iranians. Reports strongly suggest that the Libyan's have transferred the Soviet-supplied Scud-B missiles to Iran. Indeed, the Arab world continues to be divided on Iran-Iraq. While Libya and Syria strongly support Iran in the war effort, Iraq has the support of the majority of the Arab states. The aggressive Israel has been humbled in Lebanon by the Shia resistance and already it has partially withdrawn from there. The Israeli claim of liquidation of the PLO in June 1982, through its so-called "operation Peace for Galilee," was really a myth as that resulted only in dividing the PLO into moderate and radical groups. While the moderates were in the up-swing under the leadership of Yasser Arafat supported by pro-west Arab states, the radicals supported by the Syrians and Libyans did not go into oblivion. In fact, recently the radical groups have staged a come-back. The formation in early March '85 of a Syrian-sponsored anti-PLO, in the shape of a six faction "Palestinian National Salvation Front" (PNSEF), poses the gravest challenge yet to Arafat in all the years of his stewardship as the PLO's anointed leader. Meanwhile, the Syrian dominance of Lebanese politics was recently challenged by the Christian militiamen opposed to what they see as President Gemayel's growing subservience to the Syrians. The Syrians responded quickly by moving their forces into Lebanon to ensure that their gains were not jeopardised. Moreover, the Syrian gains in southern Lebanon are increasing because their supported Shia radical, guerrilla resistance movement has intensified in southern Lebanon causing heavy loss of life to the Israeli Defence Forces (IDF) and the decision to withdraw them at the earliest. Indeed, the Shia resistence movement is the first independent and successful Arab guerrilla movement in 70 years.

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I
THF CONFLICT ENVIRONMENT

The Israeli Retreat

It may be recalled that the Israelis had twin objectives in Lebanon when they launched the aggressive campaign—"the Operation Peace for Galilee" in June 1982 : to smash the PLO stronghold in Lebanon and install a pro-Israeli government in Beirut. One by one almost both these objectives, including strategic and security benefits, were liquidated by superior Syrian diplomacy. The May 1983 Israeli-Lebanese Agreement which Israel imposed on President Gemayel with clauses dealing with withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon in exchange for security guarantees collapsed with the Syrian refusal to recognise the agreement. Indeed Syrian pressure on Gemayel to abrogate the agreement and break the Israeli-link was built-up with the former actively supporting non-Christian militant factions of the Lebanese national resistance movement against the latter. Gemayel succumbed to Syrian pressure by not only abrogating the May Agreement but visiting Damascus to solicit Syrian support for his government.

To counter Syrian moves and to punish Gemayel, the Israelies withdrew their troops from the Chaouf Mountain (north eastern Lebanon) essentially to encourage the Phalangist Christians of this region to challenge the Beirut Government. But the Israeli action was counter productive as the Druze militia under the leadership of Walid Jumblatt effectively challenged the Phalangist Christian control of the Chaouf Mountain region. Subsequently a more fatal blow was inflicted on the American marines in Lebanon by the suicide squad of the Shiite resistance movement called "Islamic Jehad." About 263 American Marines died instantly in the bomb blast at the American Embassy. Later, the Shiite militia along with Druze scored another victory when they defeated the American-trained Lebanese Army. The Reagan Administration blamed the Israelis for the American set-back in Lebanon by pointing out that it was the result of unilateral Israeli withdrawal from the Chaouf Mountains.

The Israeli-Shia hostility is a current development. The Shia in south Lebanon had welcomed the Israelis in June 1982 with rice and flowers for pushing the Palestinians out of the area. But the occupation of southern Lebanon by the Israelis produced bitter hostility of the Shias rather than collaboration. Moreover, the Israeli creation of the Southern Lebanese Army (SLA) under the leadership of late Maj. Haddad, and currently under Lt. Gen, Lahad, to replace the Israeli occupation forces produced more Shiite resistance to SLA and the Israeli Defence Forces. In fact, the success of the northern Shia under the leadership of Berri, the dare-devil of the "Islamic Jehad" Shia group, and the harshness of the Israeli occupation forces created conditions for the emergence of Shia radicalism

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in southern Lebanon. Taken aback at the frequency, daring and effectiveness of Shia attacks on their troops after they had completed the first phase of withdrawal, the Israelis hit back with an "iron fist" taking the most draconian and punitive measures against Shia villagers suspected of giving succour to "terrorists." Israeli repression did not frighten the Shias to be submissive but rather stiffened their resistance. As the bloody cycle of attack-reprisal-attack resulted in a higher toll of Israeli and Shia lives, domestic pressure in Israel grew for early Israeli troop withdrawal from Lebanon. Responding to the pressure, the Israeli Premier Peres announced in March this year that Israel would withdraw from Lebanon not in five months but in six weeks.

PLO Divided

The Arab-Shia resistance exposed the vulnerability of the Israeli to guerilla warfare conducted by a highly motivated force. Thus, the Lebanese Arab-Shia Resistance Movement strengthened the cause of those PLO factions committed to armed struggle against Israel, an option which had lost relevance or priority after the Israeli onslaught on the Palestinian stronghold in Lebanon in June 1982. The substantial set of gains for the Israelis after the 1982 Lebanese War was the dispersal of Palestinian guerrillas in the Arab world, the weakening of the Palestinian resistance on the West Bank and the split in the PLO, with Arafat emerging as much more confident and moderate than before—committed to negotiated settlement of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. One outcome of these developments was the Mubarak-Hussein-Arafat peace initiative of March 1985 envisaging talks between the Israelis and a composite Jordanian-Palestinian team, with Americans mediating actively. The initiative itself, which is flawed by its ambiguity is less significant than what it represents. The pro-Western Arab leaders like President Mubarak of Egypt, King Hussein of Jordan and King Fahd of Saudi Arabia feel that the time is ripe for a concerted effort to make a breakthrough on the Israeli-Arab-Palestinian problem. These leaders perceive that should they succeed at least in getting things moving, the Syrians would sooner or latter have no choice but to come in, especially since any settlement with the Israelis would have to entail their return of the Israeli-occupied Golan Heights to Syria. What the pro-West Arab states are trying to do, in effect, is to outflank the Syrian diplomatically and work for an Arab-Israeli peace on political grounds chosen by them.

This strategy would have worked had President Mubarak, during his visit to Washington in March'85, got the full support of President Reagan for his peace initiative. With Reagan's indifference, the Israelis showed no interest in the Mubarak-Hussein peace initiative. The Mubarak-Hussein-Arafat initiative suffered yet another setback when Syria succeeded

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in uniting the six PLO factions into a new alliance called the Palestinian National Salvation Front (PNSF) committed to armed struggle against Israel. The PNSF is made up of George Habash's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Ahmad Jibril's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine—General Command, the Syrian-controlled Saika, the Popular Struggle Front and Fatah dissidents led by Col. Sa'id Mousa. What remains of the Arafat-led PLO is thus only the Fatah, *sans* the rebels under Abu Mussa and Nayef Hewatmeh's Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

Upon its formation, the Salvation Front has unveiled its credo. It aims to reverse Arafat's course of "surrenderism" and "defeatism," scuttle such political programmes as the Amman Agreement and the Mubarak initiative, to escalate armed struggle against Israel from all Arab borders, and in general terms to practice the pure and unadulterated PLO doctrine according to its Covenant.

Arafat's Options

How does Arafat propose to respond to this renewed challenge of all-out armed struggle in Palestinian ranks ? He could, in theory, now that he is rid of the PLO's radical "incubus," openly disavow the armed struggle gospel of the Covenant, and opt for the straight and narrow path of diplomacy. He could meet the two minimal conditions set by the Americans for dealing with him—endorsement of the United Nation's Security Council Resolution 242 and recognition of Israel. But the possibility exists only in theory. The Fatah chieftain would not so radically shift his ground unless he were at least certain that the Americans would reciprocate by backing his own minimal demand for an independent Palestinian state, loosely confederated with Jordan. But such a change in United States' policy is not on the cards. In any case, Arafat has long since persuaded himself that a two-pronged strategy combining armed struggle and diplomacy, Vietcong-style, is the key to victory. This remains his firm belief. "War is the loud voice of political action," he said recently. "I fight," he added, "to reach a political aim."

There is little likelihood, therefore, that he will now lay down arms as a contribution to the peace process he is so anxious for. On the contrary, he may well escalate his own anti-Israel violence in order to prove to doubting Palestinians that his militant credentials have not been impaired by his dabbling in diplomacy. One indication of such a plan may have been the claim of his military aide, Khalil-al-Wazir (Abu Jihad) in Amman on 25 March that some 60 Arafat-supporting Palestinian fighters were recently killed in attacks on Israeli soldiers in South Lebanon. If this trend is kept up it would not be easy for Arafat's "radical" friends-turned-foes or the newly formed Syrian-Libyan sponsored Palestinian

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National Salvation Front to wrest the leadership of the Palestinian liberation movement from Arafat.

II
OPTIONS FOR INDIAN DIPLOMACY

In recent years, the West Asian region has been divided against itself on various issues and Indian diplomacy has been under great strain to formulate policies to maximise and safeguard Indian interests without antagonising the West Asian nations. Before the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq War, Indian policy options were more geared to avoid involvement in Gulf politics and maximise Indian trade interests and secure turnkey projects. With the outbreak of the war, Indian trade suffered and extra-regional powers' involvement in the Gulf increased resulting in boosting Pakistan militarily to meet any Gulf contingencies; this was naturally detrimental to Indian security interests. Hence, an early resolution of the conflict was essential not only to the warring and regional states but for India also.

Iran-Iraq War—The Indian Initiative

Indian mediation in the Iran-Iraq conflict has been hampered for various reasons. The fact that both Iraq and Iran are non-aligned states meant that India had to assume a non-partisan (though not a neutral) stand. But this was easier said than done. India had closer relations with Iraq than with Iran and had provided economic and military assistance to the former since the mid-sixties. Moreover, Iraq's secular ideology is more in tune with India rather than Iran's Islamic fundamentalism. Besides, favourable economic relations with Iraq, other factors also constrained India's response to the Iran-Iraq conflict. These were : the presence of a large number of Indian workers and professionals in Arab Gulf states; Indian participation in civil construction activities in the Arab Gulf states and the fact that the majority of the Arab world supported Iraq. These constraints have led Iran to believe that India's stand on the Iran-Iraq War has been partisan and pro-Arab; Iran has thus been suspicious of the genuineness of India's peace effort as part of the non-aligned initiative.

Indian policy-makers could perhaps have avoided such a situation had they formulated policies in consonance with our national interest. It has been India's policy to condemn all aggression and to advocate the denial of the fruits of aggression. Within this framework, Indian policy-makers could have possibily taken a more balanced position on the Iran-Iraq War by noting that while Iraq had initiated the action, Iran's responsibility for provoking this action could not be ruled out. It would not have been difficult to establish Iranian responsibility as, right from early 1980, its leadership had constantly provoked the Gulf states, including Iraq, through such

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comments as the Gulf regimes were "illegal" and "un-Islamic," and that people should overthrow them. Such a policy formulation would have greatly helped Indian peace initiatives. The Iranian perception that India was "Arab-tilted" would have lost its validity, and, if Iran was really interested in peace, it would have had no reason to ignore the sincerity of Indian efforts in that direction. Significantly, Iraq has accepted all the conditions put forward by Iran for a peace settlement except the removal of their leader Saddam Hussein. Had India placed itself in a better position *vis-a-vis* Iran, it could have influenced the Iranians and convinced them that no peace negotiations would succeed if they insisted on this condition.

The current Indian leadership of Rajiv Gandhi has an opportunity to provide a new approach to a resolution of the Iran-Iraq conflict. Following the outbreak of fresh conflict between Iran and Iraq on 11 March, Rajiv Gandhi appealed to both countries to immediately cease attacks on civilian targets and take measures to de-escalate the four-year old war. Subsequently, he deputed a high-level peace delegation to visit Iran and Iraq. On 20 March the delegation composed of the Minister of State for External Affairs, Khursheed Alam Khan and Foreign Secretary, Romesh Bhandari arrived in Baghdad. The Indian side urged that the countries should fully respect the June '84 Agreement not to hit civilian targets and avoid any harm to the population. Simultaneously, the delegation urged the Iraqis to conclude ceasefire and offer Iran more favourable conditions for peace. A week later a secretary-level delegation visited Tehran to prepare the ground for the visit of Minister of State for External Affairs. Meanwhile, Iraq conveyed to India its terms for peace. Probably it was Iraq who once again affirmed its acceptance of cease-fire, withdrawal of forces to the internal border, payment of reparations to Iran and the return to Iraq of Shia Muslims expelled across the border into Iran during the war. However, Tehran's insistance on the "punishment of aggressor," a phrase generally seen as officially conveying Tehran's demand for the removal of President Hussein was not acceptable to Iraq. Perhaps this message was conveyed to the Tehran leadership during Khursheed Alam Khan's visit. Eventually, the peace effort produced an agreement between Iran and Iraq to stop bombing civilian targets. On the substantial issue of ending the conflict however, no breakthrough was achieved.

Another aspect of the Iran-Iraq War on which the present government has so far not been able to persuade and bring about any effective change of policy is related to Iraqi use of chemical weapons. As early as November 1980 the American columnist Jack Anderson, citing a secret US Defence Intelligence Agency, reported that Iraq had been "actively acquiring" chemical warfare capability. Later in that year, there was a report that chemical bombs had been used against Iran at Hoveizeh in the south. In January 1981, Iran alleged that chemical bombs or weapons had been used by Iraq during the fighting around Ahwaz in Khuzhistan. More

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detailed allegations came late in 1982. India, under the leadership of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, could have examined all these developments and issued a statement condemning the use of chemical weapons. It could have even gone to the extent of stating that if it was conclusively proved that Iraq had used such weapons, India would not hesitate to take a position probably against Iraq. Such a policy statement was essential even in the context of national interests. The Pakistani Army personnel have been trained in chemical warfare by the United States. This is a matter of concern for India. Both India and Pakistan are signatories of the Geneva Protocol of 1925 which outlaws the use of "asphyziating, poisonous or other gas and of all analogous liquids, materials and devices." Iraq has also signed the Protocol. Should Iraqi violation of the long-standing Geneva Protocol be established, that could encourage greater use of chemical weapons all over the world, including Pakistan.

On 12 April 1985, Iran alleged that Iraq had used mustard and nerve gases on three occasions on 8 and 9 April. Subsequently, the use of chemical weapons was confirmed by a medical team led by Dr. Manuel Dominguez sent by the United Nations Secretary General Perez de Cuellar to examine Iranian victims in hospitals in Europe. A copy of this report, submitted by Cuellar to the United Nations Security Council President, has not been made public. Pending the release of such reports Rajiv Gandhi's government could probably have issued a general statement criticising the use of chemical weapons in the Gulf War. From the Iranian perception, India's stand on the Iraqi aggression and use of chemical weapons was hardly encouraging. Hence, the Iranians are indifferent to Indian peace efforts.

Support for PLO Reiterated

On the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Israeli invasion of Lebanon (1982), Indian policy pronouncements had been closer to the stand of the Arabs. This trend would continue in future even under Rajiv Gandhi's leadership. India's attitude towards Israel and the Arab-Israeli conflict was influenced by its national interest. With Indian policy being essentially based on its own experience of needing to condemn aggression of all kinds, condemning Israeli aggression was natural. Additionally, the Israeli state is antithetical to the Indian state as India does not recognise the principle of states being created on the basis of religion. Therefore, India's support of the secular Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in its struggle against Israeli occupation of the Palestine homeland is obvious. Moreover, the power struggle within the PLO has not influenced the Indian support for the PLO. Arafat's leadership of the PLO has been recognised by India during Indira Gandhi's leadership and is likely to continue under Rajiv Gandhi.

April 1985.

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INDO-EEC PERSPECTIVES ON DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION

By H.S. CHOPRA*

At the outset, it seems necessary to make clear that our attempt at finding a formula of development cooperation has to be in accord with the existing democratic (political and economic) texture of the two composite entities. Our task is facilitated by the fact that there already exists a certain level of appreciative consciousness of the need to promote mutually beneficial cooperation. It was only in 1981 that India and the EEC had concluded a new five-year Commercial and Economic Cooperation Agreement (CECA), which bears considerable improvement on the 1973 Commercial Cooperation Agreement (CCA). It called for "closer cooperation across the whole range of commercial and economic endeavour," such as, in the fields of trade, industry, science, energy and finance. It is felt that in case this agreement was honoured in the spirit in which it was concluded, it may perhaps bear satisfactory results. However, the basic problem is that the agreement has to be honoured not by the EEC Executive (Commission) itself, but by the Member States (with varying political complexions and economic competence) and the industrialists on both the sides. As is well known, industrialists would cease to be themselves if they were not motivated by profit, which enables them to ensure development of their own industries. The concept of social justice hardly enters into their work design even if the economic philosophy of the state (such as the "Social Market Economy" in the case of the FRG) makes a specific provision in this regard.

None the less, it is generally believed in the Indian official and business circles that our increased inter-action with the European Community in the industrial field may promote the rate of economic growth, which, without doubt further strengthens the economic competence of the state. But, even then, so it is surmised that the fruits of economic growth may remain confined for the most part only to the rich. In the industrial West, however, the fringe benefits of industrial growth have been so immense that the basic needs of their poor could somehow be met. This phenomenon has little to do with the much publicized theories of social or economic equity. In India, as in other developing societies, the problem (in the given framework) has two equally important dimensions, economic growth and meeting the basic needs of the poor, which have to be programmed simultaneously. How, realization of these two-fold objectives could be facilitated through cooperation with the EEC and its Member States calls for debate. Perhaps, a limited optimistic stance is permissible only if India succeeds in ensuring continuous dedicated indus-

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trial vigilance and social commitment in its endeavours at industrial modernization. A caveat may, however, be added here that generally speaking the bureaucrats and industrialists (if the experiments at industrialization in Western Europe or in the NICs are any guide) attach no more than lip-sympathy to social (distributive) justice. However, political leadership in a given country has considerable scope to influence the functional modes of both the bureaucrats and the industrialists, as it bears out from the historic constructive role played by General de Gaulle in drawing France in the early and mid-1960s out of the colonial impasse and setting it on the road to economic modernization. In other words, given the political will and economic wherewithal, a good deal is within the realm of the possible.

I

CONSTRAINTS TO DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION

NOTWITHSTANDING the general awareness of the need to foster development cooperation between the two entities, in accord with the principle of "comparative advantage," there exist constraints on both sides, which deserve to be noted. First, in 1979-80, there came about the "second oil shock," and then added thereto were the super-imposition (in early 1982) of high interest rates, "heavily influenced by those of the United States," which "risked creating an economic enviroment in which the expected cyclical recovery in Europe could be aborted."[1] As a result, the processes of stagflation continued. Nearly thirteen million people have been unemployed. And some European industrial giants, such as Telefunken A.G., suffered grievously despite West German official financial support and assistance. In January 1983, the IFRI brought out a paper on "Global Negotiations : The Time for Painful Thinking" prepared by Albert Bressand. While alluding to the Mac Cracken Report 1977, which attributed world economic problems of the mid 1970s to "exogenous shocks," and "policy mistakes," the author criticized Reagan's policies of the so-called "painless reflation" and Mitterand's first year's "consumer-led recovery" programme. In his view, both shared "a common record of dismal results." He then further added that "since then faith in the capacity of the world economy to regenerate itself rapidly has almost vanished in Europe and is diminishing fast in the United States and even Japan."[2] These forebodings do not seem to have turned out completely incorrect in so far as France is concerned.

What is however true is that, in 1983-84, the major West European Powers, such as West Germany, Britain and France, have been successful in controlling the spiralling rise in prices. Yet, unemployment continues to be the most baffling problem and the European workers continue to be the worst hit ; they are unable to purchase the things they produce. There is industrial unrest, and the European governments are unable to provide

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them with consumer goods at prices within their wage-reach. As a result, European industrial policy-planners are seriously engaged in searching for a solution to this perplexing problem. Perhaps, they could as well consider a suggestion mooted by K.B. Lall, India's former Ambassador to the EEC.

> Recovery in the past meant going back to old norms of production. In the present situation, a return to out-dated patterns means living with inflation and stagnation. It is only through a speedy but orderly adjustment of national production structures to the dynamics of the continuing change in the parameters governing the international division of labour that the difficulties currently facing industrial nations can be resolved on an enduring basis.[3]

The key question then arises as to whether the mode of economic recovery through the division of labour, between the developed Western Europe and the developing Third World, is acceptable to the EEC and its Member States ? Perhaps, it is difficult for the industrial West to go in for a completely new mode of economic recovery, which hithertofore has not been tried and found workable. But then, the components of the new international system which has now come to be described as "a global village," are also very new, and it is for the first time in world history that the workable mode of inter-action between all the components, responding to their legitimate aspirations, has become a compelling necessity, owing both to political and economic reasons. The World Bank President, A.W. Clausen in his address at the UNCTAD-VI averred that "the industrial countries should welcome competitive imports from the developing countries and allow their own resources to be gradually reallocated to reflect shifts in comparative advantage."[4]

In this regard, James Elles, an official at the EEC Commission, recommends focus on five sectors for this purpose, such as "capital equipment industries; the development of transport, communications and urban infrastructures, particularly in the developing world ; aircraft and space industries ; bio-idustries ; services and the electronic-information complex."[5] He further points out that unlike in Japan, where the Council for Industrial Planning specifies industries which in a particular period have to double or treble production, and/or which may have to be phased out, "debate on industrial structures in Europe has not yet fully opened." But as James Elles himself bears evidence, it seems that the debate has already began, though shifts in traditional European industrial structures may not be quick to realize for obvious reasons. However, the EEC Commission is verily seized of it and views sympathetically the LDC needs, without arousing undue expectations in the Third World. Its "Memorandum on Community Development Policy," 5 October 1982, clearly states—

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What Europe needs is an industrial development policy which takes account of the progress in the Third World. It is entitled to say no to unrestricted or unconditional access, but must endeavour to organize its own restructuring at a predictable tempo. [6]

II
NEW LINKAGES

It is worth noting that the period 1973-75, signified on the one hand the opening up of new prospects (for Western Europe) of increased economic growth as a result of the East-West *detente*, and on the other stagflation caused by the energy crisis. The collapse of the Bretton Woods system and the setting afloat of the major European currencies "snake float" created not only an uncertain situation for the West, but also affected grievously the much-cherished goals of economic modernization in some Third World countries, such as India. However, it is in the midst of this economic crisis that the EEC for its own economic and political reasons sought to grapple with the multifarious problems of establishing new linkages through association conventions, such as Lome, and or commercial cooperation accords with several countries/regional groupings in the Third World.

EEC-India Commercial Cooperation Agreements

In December 1973, India became the first Asian LDC to conclude with the EEC a non-preferential Commercial Cooperation Agreement. It may also be recalled, that it was also the first to have set up its diplomatic mission in Brussels in 1962. During the phase from 1974 to 1980, India's exports to the EEC increased three-fold, while its imports therefrom quadrupled. The deficit in the Balance of Payments was then within the manageable limits. And of course, the EEC since then has been its largest trading partner, though India's share in the EEC's total trade has never crossed the rubicon of one per cent. As such, India did not figure in the priorities-design of the latter. Obviously, political realism and economic pragmatism determined the EEC priorities. Its priorities-calculus may be portrayed as follows :

(a) Euro-Atlantic Region –"the Area of Concentration"—so designated in the Duncan Report of 1969.
(b) "Conflict Management Areas"—the USSR, Eastern Europe, and China.
(c) Suppliers of energy and other strategic raw materials. In this category, fall the Lome associates, the Mediterranean groupings, the ASEAN, and others.

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Incidentally, here it is tempting to explode the myth that the LDCs are the principal suppliers of raw materials to the EEC. In a study sponsored by the EEC Commission on *Europe and the Third world : A Study of Interdependence*, it is stated that,

> ...in fact, our major suppliers are the industrialized countries. In 1977, for example, the value of imports from developing nations amounted to 24.1 billion dollars while the value of imports from the industrialized countries was 57.4 billion. [7]

The importance of the Third World linkages, however, does not diminish, for their expanding industrial needs help absorb the developed countries manufactures, even if their costs, as they are, may be prohibitive. But then the LDC absorption capacity has to be in proportion to the access that the LDC goods may have to the developed western markets.

In 1981, the renewed Indo-EEC Agreement, (the CECA) became effective. Owing to the "second oil shock," India's exports to the EEC fell from 25 per cent in 1980 to 19.6 per cent in 1981-82. This downward trend continued in 1982-83. It is in this period that the share of East European countries (including the USSR) of India's exports rose to 22.9 per cent. This comparative view of India's trade indicates its potentialities for diversification.

Need to Strengthen Industrial Infrastructure

None the less, owing to larger imports, EEC maintained its position as India's first trading partner. India is one of the six major beneficiaries of the GSP (Generalized Scheme of Preferences adopted by the EEC since 1971). However, as the following data reveals, India's deficit in balance of payments has been spiralling upwards particularly since 1978, when France resorted to "organised free trade" (a concept coined by Raymond Barre) to reduce the intake of India's textile goods :

Trade Between India and the EEC (Million ECU)

	1973	1976	1981	1983
India's Exports	655	1,407	1,880	2,196
India's Imports	676	1,122	3,363	3,823
Balance	—21	+285	—1,483	—1,627

Source : Commission of the European Communities (D. G. Information), *Europe Information : External Relations* (Brussels 73/84, April 1984, p. 5.

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It is worth noting that the EEC has increased manifold its economic interaction with China during the period 1978-83, without causing any adverse balance of payments problem to the latter. Equally true may it be to say that the EEC has had over several years a deficit balance with Japan, USA, and the NICs. But then is it not unfair if the EEC's deficit elsewhere is sought to be covered (even if partially) in its trade with India. India has been pressurizing the EEC to facilitate access for its products to the EEC market. In response, Jos Loeff, Deputy Director General, External Relations of the EEC Commission, gives reasons for India's deficit with the Community :

> It must be recognized that the Community, accounting for over 20 per cent of the World's exports...is the natural supplier of the capital goods that India needs to continue her development until the end of this century. [8]

Then he cautions India that "the European market is not an easy one, especially at what we hope is the far end of recession. The market needs to be researched and prospective exporters need to ensure their goods are of high quality." [9]

Apart from the foregoing sound message for improved competitiveness of India's manufactures, it has also often observed that "unfortunately very few European firms take part in Indian trade fairs." This means that there continues to exist a communication gap despite the fact that India has its Trade Centre in Brussels, an Investment Centre in Dusseldorf and has also bilateral Chambers of Commerce in major West Europern countries. Is it therefore not high time that India considers setting up a kind of Industrial, Science and Technology think tank, having specialists located in London, Paris, Bonn and Brussels with a view to monitoring the latest information, so as to provide a spurt to technology transfer and also make available their periodical reports on how Indian industrial manufactures could fare better in Europe. Perhaps, one may also add here that if the technology transferred has to be effective, India must strengthen its industrial infrastructural framework. And this requires making available in time the raw materials that the producers need. The other areas related to industrial productivity must also be assured supply of power and efficient means of communication and transport systems both at the national and international planes. Perhaps, India needs to allocate more funds to industrial R & D, both in the private and public sectors. In this regard, Sanjaya Lall's observations are noteworthy :

> Industrial R&D comprises under 10 per cent of total science and technonology expenditures in the country as compared, say, with 75 per cent in the United States and 65 per cent in the United Kingdom and Japan. The bulk of it is accounted for by the non-manu-

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facturing research establishments run by the CSIR, and here the returns in terms of commercial application in industry have been extremely poor. [10]

If and when the foregoing challenging tasks are met earnestly, perhaps one would find an answer to Gunnar Myrdal's description of India as a "soft state."

III
CONCLUSIONS

Having briefly analyzed the complexities involved in the Indo-EEC co-operation for development, certain conclusions seem permissible. It is doubtful if the complete and sudden shift to the capitalist mode of economic development will be in the best interests of this country, for, opening up flood-gates to investments and or technology transfer by the West European MNCs, may prove to be counter-productive.

However, the liberalization process deserves to be tried. But then it has to be gradual in the sense that it should be in proportion to the positive response from the western side. None the less, once a policy is adopted. there should be no laxity in its implementation.

Since 1982, India has been pursuing an import/export policy which is neither "too restrictive nor too liberal." But then it bears criticism, particularly from the Indo-German Chambers of Commerce, which is as follows :

> The import/export policy is published at the beginning of every financial year (1.4-31.3) but is rarely valid through the year because it is subject to innumerable changes which are announced by the Government.[11]

Such an approach on policy execution which breeds uncertainty and affects its credibility, must be abandoned.

Secondly, India and the European Community are two pluralist democratic entities, and both of them have a common interest in shaping the new international economic system which may provide a secure and stable basis for Third World development. In this process, the European Community, which is striving hard to break the shackles of the current stagflation and enable the West Europeans to regain their lost momentum in economic and industrial growth, stands to gain in an equal measure. The EEC Commission Memorandum (Com. 82-640), cited earlier, says :

> ...but conversely, it is becoming increasingly plain that only economic revival in the developing countries, where that same recession has halted growth, can pull Europe out of its crisis.[12]

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As such both of them view disapprovingly the United States' attempts at moving away from multilateralism and working towards bilateralism, for, it offers the United States "a more propitious frame for exploiting its military and financial muscle."[13]

Would it therefore not be appropriate for the two to combine their resources with the support of the other LDCs and DCs and work for the resumption of the North-South dialogue? Also perhaps, they may use their good offices with the United States and persuade it to view the North-South nexus independent of the East-West conflict.

Finally, the European Community may consider rendering global cost to its development strategy, in which India may find its place commensurate with its systemic framework as also its geo-strategic setting in the international system. The present development strategy, as is now pursued seems to be inadequate to enable it to respond to the challenging tasks that it may have to grapple with during the remaining part of this century.

March 1985.

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INDIA'S AFRICA POLICY

By HARI SHARAN CHHABRA*

Soon after assuming office Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi announced a donation of 100,000 tons of wheat to the famine-stricken countries of Africa. The government also announced that it would be sending a team of doctors and medical supplies to some needy countries on the African continent. That the new government responded to the urgent needs of Africa shows what great regard it has for the suffering masses of the neighbouring continent. This gesture has been greatly appreciated in Africa, even if the Indian help is rather modest.

In view of the old, historic and friendly relations with peoples of Africa, it is now India's desire to strengthen these relations with the present 50-odd newly independent countries of the African continent. These countries no doubt present an untapped opportunity for trade and technical collaboration, but for the success of our foreign policy the numerical strength of Africa—nearly one-third the United Nations- is immensely important. It is, indeed, a worthwhile gathering of friends to have in international forums.

India's Africa policy has two facets : its role as an uncompromising fighter against colonialism and racialism and its strong faith in South-South cooperation.

SUPPORT FOR DECOLONISATION : NAMIBIA AND SOUTH AFRICA

NOW that the process of decolonisation is almost complete, world attention is focused on Southern Africa. India is keen that Namibia should be wrested from South Africa's illegal control and that United Nations Resolution 435 be speedily implemented bringing Namibia in the independent comity of nations. India also desires that the people of South Africa be helped to throw off the shackles of racial discrimination. For the past ten years or more, India has pressed for economic sanctions against South Africa and has laid the basis for the great "Boycott South Africa" campaigns of recent years. Support for decolonisation of Namibia and South Africa by the Indian Government and people has been termed by many foreign commentators as consistent and principled. India has provided SWAPO and the ANC with facilities to man their respective missions in New Delhi. Material, financial and humanitarian assistance over the years has been given to the South African and Namibian liberation movements ; the most recent being the donation of medicines and foodstuff to SWAPO and ANC in 1983. India has also made modest financial contri-

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butions to the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, UN Trust Fund for South Africa, UN Education and Training Programme for South Africa, UN Fund for Namibia, the UN Institute for Namibia and the Special Non-aligned Fund for Namibia.

ECONOMIC DIPLOMACY

Apart from striving to bring to completion the process of decolonisation in Africa, India would like to see stability and economic prosperity in the continent. With its limited resources, whatever little contribution India can make or is making towards the well being of Africa stems from its genuine desire to strengthen the roots of hard-won independence in Africa through a well-conceived programme of economic and technical cooperation. This programme has generally come to be known as India's economic diplomacy. India's economic ties are with practically every African country, but a few receive special attention ; these are Mauritius, Tanzania, Zambia, Nigeria, Libya and Algeria. With these six African countries India has set up joint commissions of economic and technical cooperation, which meet periodically at ministerial level to promote cooperation by identifying new areas of economic activity. Trade agreements have been signed with at least a dozen countries.

It is India's belief that collective self-reliance among the countries of the Indian Ocean region, and among non-aligned countries in general, is the answer to many of their problems. Mrs Gandhi reiterated this belief at the Non-Aligned Summit in March 1983. "Each of our countries must strengthen its domestic base of science and technology and collectively we should devise more effective mechanisms for the pooling of our experiences. Earlier non-aligned gatherings have considered this subject. At this summit let us move forward to make collective, self-reliance a reality."

Three-Tier Economic Cooperation Mooted

In general terms, India conceives economic cooperation in a broad three-tier set-up, namely, balanced trade, technical assistance and joint ventures. The base for fruitful cooperation is set by exchange of commodities and products. The mutuality of interests generated by close and increasing trade exchanges tends to influence countries to work in cooperation in other fields as well. Indo-African trade both ways has ever been on the increase. India exports large quantities of engineering goods, textiles, chemicals and food and a host of other products, and imports from Africa minerals like copper, cobalt, tin and manganese and cotton, cashew, cocoa, phosphates, and edible oils. The overall balance of trade remains with the continent of Africa, but even so India offers to a number of African countries long-term credits to meet their immediate import requirements.

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New Delhi believes that the developing countries have to underpin their programme of economic cooperation among themselves by something more permanent than mere trade exchanges. The question of India providing trained technical personnel to man the social services and training programmes initiated in African countries is receiving greater attention. There are four different programmes under which technical assistance is being provided. These are, the Colombo Plan, the Special Commonwealth African Assistance Plan (SCAAP), the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation Programme (ITEC) and unilateral schemes under which seats in medical, engineering and other technical institutions are reserved for students from African countries. Students from 28 African countries are taking advantage of training facilities extended by India under these schemes, these countries having either no professional courses of their own or inadequate facilities for higher studies. A large number of scholarships are also provided under the General Cultural Scholarship Scheme.

Under the Colombo Plan, training places are offered and experts deputed to African countries. The main fields of training are engineering, forestry, agriculture, power and fuel, electronics, public administration, social services, statistics, fisheries, cooperatives, banking, insurance, press photography, film technology, railway engineering, water resource developments, irrigation, small-scale industries, atomic energy research and satellite earth communication. During the past few years since the inception of the Special Commonwealth African Assistance Plan, over 1500 training places have been provided to nationals from Botswana, Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, Mauritius, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Tanzania, Uganda, Zimbabwe and Zambia. Hundreds of experts—doctors, engineers, teachers, accountants, architects, etc.—have also been deputed to these countries under SCAAP. Being apolitical, the work of these professionals has been highly commended by African countries which have benefited from their expertise.

Perhaps the most effective programme comes under the purview of ITEC which, besides providing technical training facilities in specialised fields, enables India to participate in the development programmes of African countries by offering to assist in setting up small-scale industries, industrial estates, technical training institutes, undertaking feasibility survey reports and carrying out techno-economic surveys. Some examples of the ITEC programmes in Africa are the provision of machinery and equipment for establishing a handicrafts and cottage industry centre in Dar-es Salaam, cooperation with Kenya by way of machinery and equipment for establishing a small-scale industry centre in Nairobi, railway techno-economic surveys in Nigeria, help in streamlining the existing railways in Ghana, sending rail experts to Zambia and Zaire, providing mining experts and technical know-how to Zambia and setting up a small-scale industrial and training estate in Mauritius. Libya, Liberia, Sudan, Ethiopia and Uganda are also beneficiaries under the ITEC programme.

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In the matter of technical assistance special attention may be given to the work of Indian railwaymen in Africa. RITES, a government-owned organisation, is a specialist team dedicated to an innovative railroad network. It specialises in feasibility studies, staff training, manpower planning, system designs and management consultancy. It has executed and has in hand prestigious railway projects in Algeria, Ghana, Guinea, Mozambique, Nigeria, Zaire, Zimbabwe and Zambia, all in the last ten years or so. IRCON, another government-owned agency, specialises in construction of new railway lines, strengthening existing railway lines, railway electrification and telecommunication installations. A relatively new organisation, it has handled jobs in Algeria and Nigeria.

RITES took over the management of the Nigerian Railway Corporation in 1979 when the system was close to breaking down. In three years, RITES teams helped in bringing about steady improvement in passenger services and amenities, larger freight and higher revenue. It also helped train thousands of Nigerian railway staff and enabled them to maintain the momentum. In Zimbabwe over 40 Indian rail experts are helping Zimbabwe Railways in maintenance, rehabilitation and training of staff.

Special mention may also be made of paper plants, one each in Kenya, Nigeria and Zambia built by the Birlas. The latter exported complete consultancy services in paper production : from feasibility studies and supply of technical know-how to plant start-up, operator training and financial and management assistance. Machine tools is another field of cooperation with countries like Kenya and Nigeria. A turnkey sugar plant in Tanzania, consultancy in steel provided to a couple of Nigerian steel plants and a thermal power plant in Libya have earned India a good deal of praise. Technical assistance in hotel operation is also being given in Egypt and Tanzania.

While technical assistance is considered an important link in the cooperation programme, India also recognises the need for cooperation with the developing countries of Africa in the matter of setting up joint ventures. There are 48 joint ventures in Africa, 23 in operation and 15 under implementation. The important countries in which the joint ventures have come up are Kenya, Nigeria, Mauritius, Tanzania, and Uganda. The joint ventures are for the production of such varied items as textiles, electric fans, sugar, razor blades, tractor assembly, machine tools, bicycles, etc.

India has stipulated that Indian partners in these collaboration projects would normally not have majority participation; their contribution to share capital should be in terms of supply of equipment and technical know-how. The idea is that the arrangement should not smack of any kind of exploitation. India is largely motivated by the desire to share its experience in development.

Yet another form of economic cooperation is the Indian offer of technological surveys and consultancy services such as surveys for ore extrac-

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tion, telecommunications, hydroelectric power stations, water resources development, railway modernisation and expansion, rural electrification, steel and machine tool industries. From small-scale industries, India is now providing sophisticated technology to Africa.

Cooperation through International Organizations

India is also cooperating with Africa through international organisations. In December 1979, the Government of India concluded an agreement with the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA). India gave a grant of Rs 50 lakh to the United Nations Trust Fund for African Development. These funds are used by the ECA to hire experts and consultancy and training services in different fields. By entering into this agreement, India became the first non-African developing country to contribute to this Fund. The agreement gave a multilateral dimension to India's existing programmes of bilateral cooperation with African countries. Another important development is India becoming a member of the African Development Fund and the African Development Bank. This enables India to take part in projects funded by the African Bank.

Drought Assistance Extended

India has now assured drought-hit southern African states that it is ready to extend its expertise and technical cooperation in the development of irrigation and adoption of modern practices in agriculture, including farm mechonisation, seeds, and application of fertilisers and pesticides. This assurance was given by an official of the Indian Government who attended the annual consultative meeting of South African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) early last year. The annual meeting of SADCC focused its attention on food and agriculture, because almost the entire region is going through one of the worst droughts in living memory. Besides agriculture, India has also offered its expertise to SADCC in the control of animal diseases, foot and mouth diseases, rinderpest and tick-borne diseases. Another offer to SADCC is the development of non-conventional energy sources, rural electrification solar energy and wind power.

Credit Facilities Offered

For such projects and areas of cooperation, India has also offered credit facilities which could be arranged on reasonable terms, and feasibility studies in indicated areas which could be taken up at India's cost. As to credit, India has over the years offered credit from Rs 5 crore to Rs 10 crore to countries like Tanzania, Mauritius. Mozambique, Zambia, Uganda and Sudan for purchase of Indian manufactured goods—mainly textiles

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and engineering goods, like tractors, motor cycles, buses, trucks and bicycles. Such credit is offered to countries that are critically short of foreign exchange.

India's programme of economic and technical cooperation with Africa is a modest one. There is, however, a vast scope for expansion. But what has been achieved so far with limited resources at hand is an integral pattern of relationship, which is strong enough to sustain short-term political and economic strains and yet dynamic enough to propel an ever widening circle of close interdependence.

India's Africa policy, both in regard to political and economic matters, has taken a positive shape. The new government, it is certain would like to continue the old policies, may be it will devise ways to further strengthen the existing friendly Indo-African ties.

February 1985.

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INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY
(Selected Statements)

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

General Policy

We propose, as far as possible, to keep away from the power politics of groups, aligned against one another, which have led in the past to world wars and which may again lead to disasters on an even vaster scale. We believe that peace and freedom are indivisible and the denial of freedom anywhere must endanger freedom elsewhere and lead to conflict and war. We are particularly interested in the emancipation of colonial and dependent countries and peoples, and in the recognition in theory and practice of equal opportunities for all races. We repudiate utterly the Nazi doctrine of racialism, wheresoever and in whatever form it may be practised. We seek no dominion over others and we claim no privileged position over other peoples. But we do claim equal and honourable treatment for our people wherever they may go, and we cannot accept any discrimination against them.

The world, in spite of its rivalries and hatreds and inner conflicts, moves inevitably towards closer cooperation and the building up of a world commonwealth. It is for this *One World* that free India will work, a world in which there is the free cooperation of free peoples, and no class or group exploits another.

In spite of our past history of conflict, we hope that an independent India will have friendly and cooperative relations with England and the countries of the British Commonwealth. But it is well to remember what is happening in one part of the Commonwealth today. In South Africa racialism is the state doctrine and our people are putting up a heroic struggle against the tyranny of a racial minority. If this racial doctrine is going to be tolerated it must inevitably lead to vast conflicts and world disaster.

We send our greetings to the people of the United States of America to whom destiny has given a major role in international affairs. We trust that this tremendous responsibility will be utilized for the furtherance of peace and human freedom everywhere.

To that other great nation of the modern world, the Soviet Union, which also carries a vast responsibility for shaping world events, we send greetings. They are our neighbours in Asia and inevitably we shall have to undertake many common tasks and have much to do with each other.

We are of Asia and the peoples of Asia are nearer and closer to us than others. India is so situated that she is the pivot of Western, Southern and

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South-East Asia. In the past her culture flowed to all these countries and they came to her in many ways. Those contacts are being renewed and the future is bound to see a closer union between India and South-East Asia on the one side, and Afghanistan, Iran, and the Arab world on the other. To the furtherance of that close association of free countries we must devote ourselves. India has followed with anxious interest the struggle of the Indonesians for freedom and to them we send our good wishes.

China, that mighty country with a mighty past, our neighbour, has been our friend through the ages and that friendship will endure and grow. We earnestly hope that her present troubles will end soon and a united and democratic China will emerge, playing a great part in the furtherance of world peace and progress.

Broadcast from New Delhi, 7 September 1946.

In the sphere of foreign affairs India will follow an independent policy, keeping away from the power politics of groups aligned one against the other. She will uphold the principle of freedom for dependent peoples and will oppose racial discrimination wherever it may occur. She will work with other peace-loving nations for international cooperation and goodwill without exploitation of one nation by another.

It is necessary that, with the attainment of her full international status, India should establish contacts with all the great nations of the world and that her relations with neighbouring countries in Asia should become still closer.

India will watch with close interest the development of events in Palestine, Iran, Indonesia, China, Siam and Indo-China, as well as the foreign possessions inside India, with every sympathy with the aspirations of the peoples of these lands for the attainment of internal peace, freedom (when they lack it) and of their due place in the community of nations.

Towards the United Nations Organization, India's attitude is that of whole-hearted cooperation and unreserved adherence in both spirit and letter, to the Charter governing it. To that end, India will participate fully in its varied activities and endeavour to play that role in its councils to which her geographical position, population and contribution towards peaceful progress entitled her. In particular, the Indian delegation will make it clear that India stands for the independence of all colonial and dependent peoples and their full right to self-determination.

New Delhi Press Conference, 26 September 1946.

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We should follow a policy independent of this or that bloc. You may, of course, sympathize with one or the other ; that is quite another thing. To become part of a power bloc means giving up the right to have a policy of our own and following that of somebody else. Surely, that is not the kind of future any self-respecting person would like to envisage for our great country. I am not saying that we should not cooperate with others or consult them but at the same time we must follow an independent policy. It is perfectly true that no country can function in a vacuum. To achieve anything, it has to take the rest of the world into account and then decide upon its course of action. Although our foreign policy is a continuation of the stand we took during our struggle for independence, we are, sometimes, constrained to vary it according to circumstances.

...a foreign policy is not just a declaration of fine principles ; nor is it a directive to tell the world how to behave. It is conditioned and controlled by a country's own strength. If the policy does not take the capacity of the country into account, it cannot be followed up. If a country talks bigger than it is, it brings little credit to itself. It is easy for you or me to lay down beautiful maxims ; but if that is done by a government of nations, it would probably come to nothing. In any case, what do we achieve except the satisfaction of having made fine speeches ?

The strength which limits or, at any rate, conditions the foreign policy of a country may be military, financial or, if I may use the word, moral. It is obvious that India has neither military nor financial strength. Furthermore, we have no desire to—and we cannot - impose our will on others. We are, however, anxious to prevent catastrophes and, where possible to help in the general progress of humanity. We do express our opinion and work for our goals with the limited strength that we have but if we adopt a policy which we are not in a position to implement, we would be discrediting ourselves in the eyes of other nations and be dubbed irresponsible...our policy has, indeed, secured us the friendship of a large number of countries. I am confident that today there is no country which is actually hostile to us.

Mention has been made of a 'third force'. I have not been able to understand quite what it means. If by the term is meant a power bloc, military or other, I am afraid I do not consider it desirable, apart from the fact that it is not feasible either. The biggest countries today are small compared with the two giants. It would be absurd for a number of countries in Asia to come together and call themselves a third force or a third power in a military sense. It may, however, have a meaning in another sense. Instead of calling it a third force or a third bloc, it can be called a third area, an area which—let us put it negatively first—does not want war, works for peace in a positive way and believes in cooperation. I should like my country to work for that. Indeed, we have tried to do so but the idea of third bloc or a third force inevitably hinders our work. It

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frightens people, especially those we wish to approach. Those countries, who do not want to align themselves with either of the two powerful blocs and who are willing to work for the cause of peace, should by all means come together ; and we, on our part, should do all we can to make this possible. That is our general policy and I think we should follow it without too much of shouting.

In Parliament, New Delhi, 17 February 1953.

We have proclaimed during this past year that we will not attach ourselves to any particular group. That has nothing to do with neutrality or passivity or anything else. If there is a big war, there is no particular reason why we should jump into it. Nevertheless, it is a little difficult nowadays in world wars to be neutral.... we are not going to join a war if we can help it, and we are going to join the side which is to our interest when the time comes to make the choice. There the matter ends.

But talking about foreign policies, the House must remember that these are not just empty struggles on a chess board. Behind them lie all manner of things. Ultimately, foreign policy is the outcome of economic policy, and until India has properly evolved her economic policy, her foreign policy will be rather vague, rather inchoate, and will be groping.

We have sought to avoid foreign entanglements by not joining one bloc or the other. The natural result has been that neither of these big blocs looks on us with favour.

We were unpopular last year at the United Nations. I do not mean individually, but in regard to our policy. They could not quite make out what we were or what we were aiming at. There was a suspicion in the minds of the first group that we were really allied to the other group in secret though we were trying to hide the fact, and the other group thought that we were allied to the first group in secret though we were trying to hide the fact.

This year there was a slight change in this attitude. We did many things which both the groups disliked, but the comprehension came to them that we were not really allied to either group, that we were trying to act according to our own lights and according to the merits of the dispute as they seemed to us.

Whatever policy you may lay down, the art of conducting the foreign affairs of a country lies in finding out what is most advantageous to the country. We may talk about international goodwill and mean what we say. We may talk about peace and freedom and earnestly mean what we say. But in the ultimate analysis, a government functions for the good of

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the country it governs and no government dare do anything which in the short or long run is manifestly to the disadvantage of that country.

Therefore, whether a country is imperialistic or socialist or communist, its foreign minister thinks primarily of the interests of that country. But there is a difference, of course. Some people may think of the interests of their country regardless of other consequences, or take a short-distance view. Others may think that in the long-term policy the interest of another country is as important to them as that of their own country. The interest of peace is more important, because if war comes everyone suffers, so that in the long-distance view, self-interest may itself demand a policy of co-operation with other nations, goodwill for other nations, as indeed it does demand.

Therefore, we propose to look after India's interests in thc context of world cooperation and world peace, in so far as world peace can be preserved.

In the Constituent Assembly, New Delhi, 4 December 1947.

Our foreign policy cannot limit itself to the nearby countries. Nevertheless, the nearby countries always have a special interest in one another and India must, inevitably, think in terms of its relations with the countries bordering her by land and sea....In regard to Pakistan, the position has been a very peculiar one owing to the way Pakistan was formed and India was divided. And there have been not only all the upsets that you all know, but something much deeper, and that is, a complete emotional upset of all the people in India and Pakistan because of this. It is a very difficult thing to deal with, a psychological thing, which cannot be dealt with superficially....There is also no doubt at all in my mind that it is inevitable for India and Pakistan to have close relations—very close relations—sometime or other in the future. I cannot state when this will take place but situated as we are, with all our past, we cannot really be just indifferent neighbours. We can be either rather hostile to each other or very friendly with each other. Ultimately, we can only be really very friendly, whatever period of hostility may intervene in between, because our interests are so closely inter-linked.

If our neighbouring countries have in a sense first place in our minds, then the second place goes to the other countries of Asia with whom we are also fairly intimately connected. Now, India is very curiously placed in Asia and her history has been governed a great deal by the geographical factor plus other factors. Whichever problem in Asia you may take up, somehow or other India comes into the picture. Whether you think in terms of China or the Middle East or South-East Asia, India immedia-

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tely comes into the picture. It is so situated that because of past history, traditions, etc., in regard to any major problem of a country or a group of countries of Asia, India has to be considered. Whether it is a problem of defence, of trade or industry, or economic policy, India canot be ignored. She cannot be ignored, because, as I said, her geographical position is a compelling reason. She cannot be ignored also, because of her actual or potential power and resources. Whatever her actual strength may or may not be, India is potentially a very powerful country and possesses the qualities and factors that go a long way to make a country grow strong, healthy and prosperous. She is rich in those elements and I think she has a population which has the capacity to use those elements. Naturally we have our failings and the difficulties are there, but if you view the problem in a certain perspective, there can be no doubt in anyone's mind that India's potential wealth will become actual, and that in not too distant a future.

Therefore, whatever our own views may be, by virtue of her practical position and other reasons that I mentioned, India is bound to play an important part in Asia—in all parts of Asia—whether it is Western Asia or the Far East or South-East Asia. It so happens, of course, that even culturally speaking, our bonds are very great with all these parts of Asia, whether it is Western Asia or the Far East or South-East Asia and these bonds are very old and very persistent.

We are convinced that there is a keen desire on the part of Asian countries to work together, to confer together and generally to look to one another. Possibly this is due to a certain resentment against the behaviour of Europe in the past. It is also due, undoubtedly, to a feeling that the Asian countries might still be exploited or dominated by Europe or the countries elsewhere.

At the Indian Council of World Affairs,
New Delhi, 22 March 1949.

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Asia

We stand at the end of an era and on the threshold of a new period of history. ... Asia, after along period of quiescence, has suddenly become important again in world affairs. If we view the millennia of history, this continent of Asia, with which Egypt has been so intimately connected in cultural fellowship, has played a mighty role in the evolution of humanity. It was here that civilization began and man started on his unending adventure of life. Here the mind of man searched unceasingly for truth and the spirit of man shone out like a beacon which lighted up the whole world.

This dynamic Asia from which great streams of culture flowed in all directions gradually became static and unchanging. Other peoples and other continents came to the fore and with their new dynamism spread out and took possession of great parts of the world. This mighty continent became just a field for the rival imperialisms of Europe, and Europe became the centre of history and progress in human affairs.

A change is coming over the scene now and Asia is again finding herself. We live in an age of tremendous transition and already the next stage takes shape when Asia assumes her rightful place with the other continents.

It is at this great moment that we meet here and it is the pride and privilege of the people of India to welcome their fellow Asians from other countries, to confer with them about the present and the future, and lay the foundation of our mutual progress, well-being and friendship.

As we meet here today, the long past of Asia rises up before us, the troubles of recent years fade away, and a thousand memories revive.... During the past two hundred years we have seen the growth of Western imperialisms and of the reduction of large parts of Asia to colonial or semi-colonial status. Much has happened during these years, but perhaps one of the notable consequences of the European domination of Asia has been the isolation of the countries of Asia from one another. India always had contacts and intercourse with her neighbour countries in the north-west, the north-east, the east and the south-east. With the coming of British rule in India these contacts were broken off and India was almost completely isolated from the rest of Asia. The old land routes almost ceased to function and our chief window to the outer world looked out on the sea route which led to England. A similar process affected other countries of Asia also. Their economy was bound up with some European imperialism or other; even culturally they looked towards Europe and not to their own friends and neighbours from whom they had derived so much in the past.

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Today this isolation is breaking down because of many reasons, political and other. The old imperialisms are fading away. The land routes have revived and air travel suddenly brings us near to one another. This Conference itself is significant as an expression of that deeper urge of the mind and spirit of Asia which has persisted in spite of the isolationism which grew up during the years of European domination. As that domination goes, the walls that surrounded us fall down and we look at one another again and meet as old friends long parted.

All countries of Asia have to meet together on an equal basis in a common task and endeavour. It is fitting that India should play her part in this new phase of Asian development. Apart from the fact that India herself is emerging into freedom and independence, she is the natural centre and focal point of the many forces at work in Asia. Geography is a compelling factor, and geographically she is so situated as to be the meeting point of Western and Northern and Eastern and South East Asia. Because of this, the history of India is a long history of her relations with the other countries of Asia. Streams of culture have come to India from the West and the East and been absorbed in India, producing the rich and variegated culture which is India today. At the same time, streams of culture have flowed from India to distant parts of Asia.

The countries of Asia can no longer be used as pawns by others; they are bound to have their own policies in world affairs. Europe and America have contributed very greatly to human progress and for that we must yield them praise and honour, and learn from them the many lessons they have to teach. But the West has also driven us into wars and conflicts without number, and even now, the day after a terrible war, there is talk of further wars in the atomic age that is upon us. In this atomic age Asia will have to function effectively in the maintenance of peace. Indeed, there can be no peace unless Asia plays her part. There is today conflict in many countries, and all of us in Asia are full of our own troubles. Nevertheless, the whole spirit and outlook of Asia are peaceful, and the emergence of Asia in world affairs will be a powerful influence for world peace.

Inaugural Speech at the Asian Relations Conference,
New Delhi, 23 March 1947.

When we talk of Asia, remember that India, not because of any ambition of hers, but because of the force of circumstances, because of geography, because of history and because of so many other things, inevitably has to play a very important part in Asia. And not only that; India becomes a

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kind of meeting ground for various trends and forces and a meeting ground between what might roughly be called the East and the West.

If you have to consider any question affecting the Middle East, India inevitably comes into the picture. If you have to consider any question concerning South-East Asia, you cannot do so without India. So also with the Far East. While the Middle East may not be directly connected with South-East Asia, both are connected with India. Even if you think in terms of regional organisations in Asia you have to keep in touch with the other regions. And whatever regions you may have in mind, the importance of India cannot be ignored.

One of the major questions of the day is the readjustment of the relations between Asia and Europe. In the past, especially by virtue of her economic and political domination, the West ignored Asia, or at any rate did not give her the weight that was due to her. Asia was really given a backseat and one unfortunate result of it was that even the statesmen did not recognize the changes that were taking place. There is, I believe, a considerable recognition of these changes now, but it is not enough yet. Even in the councils of the United Nations, the problems of Asia, the outlook of Asia, the approach of Asia have failed to evoke the enthusiasm that they should. There are many ways of distinguishing between what may be called the approach of Asia and the approach of Europe. Asia today is primarily concerned with what may be called the immediate human problems. In each country of Asia—under-developed countries more or less—the main problem is the problem of food, of clothing, of education, of health. We are concerned with these problems. We are not directly concerned with problems of power politics. Some of us, in our minds, may perhaps think of them.

Europe, on the other hand, is not so concerned with these problems, except in the devastated regions. Europe has a legacy of conflicts of power and of problems which come from the possession of power. They have the fear of losing that power and the fear of someone else getting greater power and attacking one country or the other. So that the European approach is a legacy of the past conflicts of Europe.

In Asia, at the present moment at least, there is no such legacy. The countries of Asia may have their quarrels with their neighbours here and there, but there is no basic legacy of conflicts such as the countries of Europe possess. That is a very great advantage for Asia and it would be folly in the extreme for the countries of Asia or for India to be dragged in the wake of the conflicts in Europe. We might note that the world progressively tends to become one – one in peace as it is likely to be one, in a sense, in war. No man can say that any country can remain apart when there is a major conflagration. But still one can direct one's policy towards avoiding this conflict and entanglement in it.

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So the point I wish the House to remember is this : first of all, the emergence of India in world affairs is something of major consequence in world history. We who happen to be in the Government of India or in this House, are men of relatively small stature. But it has been given to us to work at a time when India is growing into a great giant again. So, because of that, in spite of our own smallness, we have to work for great causes and perhaps elevate ourselves in the process.

So our policy will continue to be not only to keep aloof from power alignments, but try to make friendly cooperation possible. Fortunately we enter upon our independence as a country with no hostile background in regard to any country. We are friendly with all countries. Our hostility during the last 200 years was mainly directed towards the dominating power here and because of India's independence that hostility has largely vanished, though it may survive in some people's minds. So we approach the whole world on a friendly basis and there is no reason why we should put ourselves at a disadvantage, if I may say so, by becoming unfriendly to any group. I think that India has a vital role to play in world affairs.

In the Constituent Assembly,
New Delhi, 8 March 1949.

In Asia, as you know, great changes have taken place. I fear that most of us and, perhaps, more particularly you of the West do not realize the vastness of these changes. We are living through a great historic process which has created a ferment in the minds of hundreds of millions of people and which can be seen at work in political and economic changes. Asia has a very long history behind it and for long ages it has played an outstanding part in the world. During the last two or three hundred years it suffered an eclipse. Now it is emerging from its colonial status. Inevitably, this is making a great difference to the balance of forces in the world. The old equilibrium has been upset and can never be restored. That is a basic fact to remember. Asia is essentially peaceful but it is also proud and sensitive and very conscious of its newly-won freedom. In its exuberance it may go wrong occasionally. It has mighty problems of its own and wishes to live at peace with the rest of the world but it is no longer prepared to tolerate any domination or threat of domination or any behaviour after the old pattern of colonialism. It demands recognition of its new position in the world. Therefore, I would like you to view with understanding and sympathy these historic changes which are taking place in Asia, for it is of the utmost importance that Europe and Asia should understand each other. Nor should we forget the millions of people who are still under colonial domination in Africa and else-

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where. Outworn formulae of a past age will not help. A new approach and understanding are needed and, if these are forthcoming, I feel sure that Asia will respond with all friendship. The countries of Asia need and seek friendship and cooperation, for they have tremendous problems to solve. These problems are concerned with the primary needs of their peoples—food, clothing, housing and the other necessities of life. They are too busy with these problems to desire to be entangled in international conflicts. But they are being dragged into them against their will.

Great nations have arisen in Asia with long memories of the past they have lived through and with their eyes fixed on a future of promise. India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon and Indonesa have recently acquired their freedom. China has taken a new shape and a new form. But whether we like that shape or form or not, we have to recognize that a great nation has been reborn and is conscious of her new strength. China in her new-found strength, has acted sometimes in a manner which I deeply regret. But we have to remember the background of China—as of other Asian countries, the long period of struggle and frustration, the insolent treatment that they received from imperialist powers and the latter's refusal to deal with them on terms of equality. It is neither right nor practical to ignore the feelings of hundreds of millions of people. It is no longer safe to do so. We, in India, have had two thousand years of friendship with China. We have differences of opinion and even small conflicts but when we hark back to that long past something of the wisdom of that past also helps us to understand each other. And so, we endeavour to maintain friendly relations with this great neighbour of ours, for the peace of Asia depends upon these relations.

Our task is the preservation of peace and, indeed, of our civilization. To this task let us bend our energies and find fellowship and strength in each other.

Broadcast from BBC, London,
12 January 1951.

We are living in a revolutionary age of transition. On the one hand, we see a divided and disintegrating world, a multitude of conflicts and an ever-present fear of world war. On the other hand, we see creative and cooperative impulses seeking a new integration and a new unity. New problems arise from day to day which, in their implications, concern all of us or many of us. The Americans have already recognized a certain community of interest and have created machinery for the protection and promotion of common interests. A similar movement is in progress in Europe. Is it not natural that the free countries of Asia should begin to

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think of some more permanent arrangement than this Conference for effective mutual consultation and concerted effort in the pursuit of common aims—not in a spirit of selfishness or hostility to any other nation or group of nations, but in order to strengthen and bring nearer fulfilment the aims and ideals of the Charter of the United Nation? In this world of hatred, conflict and violence, let us endeavour to work jointly and in cooperation with others of goodwill to further the cause of peace and tolerance and freedom. We shall not succeed in our mission if we follow the path of violence or seek to divide the world further, but we may well make a difference to the world if we fashion ourselves in accordance with the old spirit of Asia and hold up the torch of truth and peace to a war-distracted world.

Presidential Address to the Conference on Indonesia,
New Delhi, 20 January 1949.

We have met here because of an irrepressible urge amongst the people of Asia and Africa. We have met because mighty forces are at work in these great continents moving millions of people, creating in their minds urges and passions and desires for a change in their condition.

We all came with our own perspectives, each considering his own problem the most important in the world. At the same time, we are trying to understand the big problems of the world, and to fit our problems into this larger context, because in the ultimate analysis, all our problems, however important they may be, cannot be kept apart from these larger problems. Thus, how can we solve our problems if peace itself is in danger? So our primary consideration is peace. All of us are passionately eager to advance our countries peacefully. We have been backward. We have been left behind in the race, and now we have a chance again to make good. We have to make good rapidly because of the compulsion of events. If we do not make good now, we shall fade away not to arise again for a long time to come.

We are determined not to fail. We are determined, in this new phase of Asia and Africa, to make good. We are determined not to be dominated in any way by any other country or continent. We are determined to bring happiness and prosperity to our people and to discard the age-old shackles that have tied us not only politically but economically—the shackles of colonialism and other shackles of our own making. No doubt there were differences in our discussions and great criticism was levelled at certain resolutions; we had to meet such criticism because we wanted to achieve a common goal. But it is not resolutions that will solve the problems that face us today. Only our practices and actions will bring

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success to our aims and ideals. It is only then that we can make good what we lost in the past. We have to take a realistic view of all things and face them in a realistic spirit.

But there is yet another spirit in Asia today. Asia is no longer passive; it has been passive enough in the past. It is no longer a submissive Asia; it has tolerated submissiveness too long. The Asia of today is dynamic; it is full of life. Asia might make mistakes, but they do not matter so long as she is alive. Where there is life there is advance.

Our achievements at this Conference have been great—because we have been in general agreement in all our resolutions—but much greater has been the background of all those agreements. We had to wrestle with our differences. We are not yes-men sitting here to say 'yes' to this country or that, not even to one another. We are great countries of the world who live in freedom without dictation. If there is anything that Asia wants to tell the world, it is that there is going to be no dictation in the future. There will be no yes-men in Asia nor in Africa, I hope. We had enough of that in the past. We value the friendship of the great countries, but we can only sit with them as brothers....we want to be friends with them and to cooperate with them. But in the future we shall only cooperate as equals; there is no friendship when nations are not equal, when one has to obey the other and when one dominates the other. That is why we raise our voices against domination and colonialism, from which many of us suffered for so long.... The only approach to the mind and spirit of Asia is the approach of toleration and friendship and cooperation, not the approach of aggressiveness.

We have passed resolutions about conditions in this or that country. But I think there is nothing more terrible than the infinite tragedy of Africa in the past few hundred years. Everything else pales into insignificance when I think of the infinite tragedy of Africa ever since the days when millions of Africans were carried away as galley slaves to America and elsewhere, half of them dying in the galleys. We must accept responsibility for it, all of us, even though we ourselves were not directly involved. But unfortunately, in a different sense, even now the tragedy of Africa is greater than that of any other continent, whether it is racial or political. It is up to Asia to help Africa to the best of her ability because we are sister continents.

At the Concluding Session of the Asian-African Conference at Bandung, Indonesia, 24 April 1955.

A very important event to which I would like to draw the attention of the House is the agreement between India and China in regard to Tibet.

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That agreement deals with a large number of problems, each one of them not very important in itself perhaps, but important from the point of view of our trade, our pilgrim traffic, our trade posts, our communications there and the rest....The major thing about this agreement...is the preamble. It states :

The principles and considerations which govern our mutual relations and the approach of the two countries to each other are as follows :

(i) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty ;
(ii) Mutual non-aggression ;
(iii) Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs ;
(iv) Equality and mutual benefit ; and
(v) Peaceful coexistence.

These principles indicate the policy that we pursue in regard to these matters not only with China but with any neighbour country, or for that matter any other country. What is more, it is a statement of wholesome principles, and I imagine that if these principles were adopted in the relations of various countries with one another, a great deal of the trouble of the present-day world would probably disappear.

It is a matter of importance to us, of course as well as I am sure, to China that these countries, which have now almost about 1,800 miles of frontier, should live in terms of peace and friendliness and should respect each other's sovereignty and integrity, should agree not to interfere with each other in any way, and not to commit aggression on each other. By this agreement, we ensure peace to a very large extent in a certain area of Asia. I would earnestly wish that this area of peace could be spread over the rest of Asia and indeed over the rest of the world.

From Speech during Foreign Affairs Debate,
Lok Sabha, 15 May 1954.

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Panchsheel

The Bandung Conference has been a historic event. If it only met, the meeting itself would have been a great achievement, as it would have represented the emergence of a new Asia and Africa, of new nations who are on the march towards the fulfilment of their independence and of their sense of their role in the world. Bandung proclaimed the political emergence in world affairs of over half the world's population. It presented no un-friendly challenge or hostility to anyone but proclaimed a new and rich contribution. Happily that contribution is not by way of threat or force or the creation of new power blocs. Bandung proclaimed to the world the capacity of the new nations of Asia and Africa for practical idealism....We did not permit our sense of unity or our success to drive us into isolation and egocentricity. Each major decision of the Conference happily refers to the United Nations and to world problems and ideals. We believe that from Bandung our great organization, the United Nations, has derived strength. This means in turn that Asia and Africa must play an increasing role in the conduct and the destiny of the world organization.

Asia and Africa also spoke with unanimity against the production and use of weapons of mass destruction. The Conference called for their total prohibition, and for the establishment and maintenance of such prohibition by efficient international control. It also called for the suspension of experiments with such weapons. The concern of Asian and African countries about the armaments race and the imperative necessity of disarmament also found expression.

The most important decision of the Conference is the "Declaration on World Peace and Cooperation." The nations assembled set out the principles which should govern relations between them and indeed the countries of the world as a whole. These are capable of universal application and are historic in their significance. We in India have in recent months sought to formulate the principles which should govern our relations with other countries and often spoken of them as the Five Principles. In the Bandung Declaration we find the full embodiment of these Five Principles and the addition to them of elaborations which reinforce these principle. We have reasons to feel happy that this Conference, representative of more than half the population of the world, has declared its adherence to the tenets that should guide their conduct and govern the relations of the nations of the world if world peace and cooperation are to be achieved.

While the achievements and the significance of the meeting at Bandung have been great and epoch-making, it would be a misreading of history to regard Bandung as though it was an isolated occurrence and not part of

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a great movement of human history. It is this latter that is the more correct and historical view to take.

Statement in the Lok Sabha, 30 April 1955.

Ever since these ideas of peaceful coexistence were initially mentioned and promulgated, not only have they spread in the world and influenced more and more countries, but they have progressively acquired a greater depth and meaning. That is, from being a word used rather loosely, Panchsheel has begun to acquire a specific meaning and significance in world affairs.

We may take some credit for spreading this conception of a peaceful settlement, and above all, of non-interference. That each country should carve out its own destiny without interfering with others is an important conception, though there is nothing new about it. No great truths may be new. But it is true that an idea like non-interference requires emphasis because there has been in the past a tendency for great countries to interfere with others, to bring pressure to bear upon them, and to want these others to line up with them. I suppose that is a natural result of bigness. It has taken place throughout history. This stress on non-interference of any kind—political, economic or ideological—is an important factor in the world situation today.

The conception of Panchsheel means that there may be different ways of progress, possibly different outlooks, but that, broadly, the ultimate objectives may be the same. . . this idea of Panchsheel lays down the very important truth that each people must ultimately fend for itself, I am not thinking in terms of military fending, but in terms of striving intellectually, morally, spiritually, and in terms of opening out all our windows to ideas from others, and learning from the experience of others. Each country should look upon such an endeavour on the part of the other with sympathy and friendly understanding and without any interference or imposition.

In the Lok Sabha, 17 September, 1955.

A few days ago, an agreement between India and China was signed in Peking. Although this agreement refers specifically to matters relating to Tibet, it has a larger significance as the preamble to it lays down. The agreement is based on the principles of mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-agression, mutual non-

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interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. The political and economic structures of India and China, as is well known, differ. Nevertheless, we have arrived at this agreement, basing it on these principles. If these principles were recognized, in the mutual relations of all countries, then indeed there would hardly be any conflict and certainly no war. This agreement not only settles some outstanding points between the great countries of India and China and establishes their relationship firmly on a peaceful basis, but I think it will help in the maintenance of peace in Asia. It is from this larger point of view, more especially, that I have welcomed this agreement and I would like you also to consider it in this wider context.

Broadcast from Colombo, 2 May 1954.

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We have either to pursue our policy generally within limitations—because we cannot pursue it whole-heartedly, nevertheless openly—or give it up. I do not think that anything could be more injurious to us from any point of view—certainly from an idealistic and high moral point of view, but equally so from the point of view of opportunism and national interest in the narrowest sense of the word--than for us to give up the policies that we have pursued, namely, those of standing-up for certain ideals in regard to the oppressed nations, and try to align ourselves with this great Power or that and become its camp followers in the hope that some crumbs might fall from their table.

I think that would undoubtedly be, even from the narrowest point of view of national interest, a bad and harmful policy.

I can understand some of the smaller countries of Europe or some of the smaller countries of Asia being forced by circumstances to bow down before some of the greater Powers and becoming practically satellites of those Powers, because they cannot help it. The power opposed to them is so great and they have nowhere to turn. But I do not think that consideration applies to India.

We are not citizens of a weak or mean country and I think it is foolish for us to get frightened, even from a military point of view, of the greatest of the Powers today. Not that I delude myself about what can happen to us if a great Power in a military sense goes against us; I have no doubt it can injure us. But after all in the past as a national movement, we opposed one of the greatest of world Powers. We opposed it in a particular way and in a large measure succeeded in that way, and I have no doubt that if the worst comes to the worst—and in a military sense we cannot meet these great Powers—it is far better for us to fight in our own way than submit to them and lose all the ideals we have.

Therefore, let us not be frightened too much of the military might of this or that group. I am not frightened and I want to tell the world on behalf of this country that we are not frightened of the military might of this Power or that. Our policy is not a passive policy or a negative policy.

... our instructions to our delegates have always been, to consider each question first in terms of India's interest and secondly on its merits—I mean to say, if it did not affect India naturally, on its merits and not merely to do something or give a vote just to please this Power or that Power, though of course, it is perfectly natural that in our desire to have friendship with other Powers, we avoid doing anything which might irritate them.

Our general policy has been to avoid entering into anybody's quarrels. If I may say so, I have come more and more to the conclusion that the

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less we interfere in international conflicts the better, unless, of course, our own interest is involved, for the simple reason that it is not in consonance with our dignity just to interfere without producing any effect. We should either be strong enough to produce some effect or we should not interfere at all.

It is for us to lead ourselves; then only can we lead others properly and I do not wish to place the case of India at any higher level. We have to look after ourselves.

I think that not only in the long run, but also in the short run, independence of opinion and independence of action will count. This again does not mean that we should not associate closely with particular countries in certain activities. Pandit Kunzru referred to the necessity for our developing economically, militarily and otherwise. Surely this House realizes that nothing is more important in the opinion of this Government than to make India strong economically and militarily—not strong in the big power sense, because that is beyond our capacity, but as strong as we can to defend ourselves if anybody attacks us.

We want to do that. We want the help of other countries; we are going to have it and we are going to get it too in a large measure. I am not aware of this having been denied to us to any large extent. Even in accepting economic help or in getting political help, it is not a wise policy to put all our eggs in one basket. Nor should we get help at the cost of our self-respect. Therefore, purely from the point of view of opportunism if you like, a straightforward, honest policy, an independent policy is the best.

Speech in the Constituent Assembly,
New Delhi, 8 March 1984.

We are men and women of peace in this country, conditioned to the ways of peace. We are unused to the necessities of war. Because of this, we endeavoured to follow a policy of peace even when aggression took place on our territory in Ladakh five years ago. We explored avenues for an honourable settlement by peaceful methods. That was our policy all over the world, and we tried to apply it even in our own country. We know the horrors of war in this age today, and we have done our utmost to prevent war from engulfing the world.

But all our efforts have been in vain in so far as our own frontier is concerned, where a powerful and unscrupulous opponent, not caring for peace or peaceful methods, has continuously threatened us and even carried the threats into action. The time has, therefore, come for us to realize fully this menace which threatens the freedom of our people and

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the independence of our country. I say so even though I realize that no power can ultimately imperil the freedom which we have won at so much sacrifice and cost to our people after long ages of foreign domination. But, to conserve that freedom and integrity of our territory we must gird up our loins and face this greatest menace which has come to us since we became independent. I have no doubt in my mind that we shall succeed.

We have followed a policy of non-alignment and sought friendship of all nations. I believe in that policy fully and we shall continue to follow it. We are not going to give up our basic principles because of the present difficulty. Even this difficulty will be more effectively met by our continuing that policy.

Broadcast from AIR, Delhi, after China's aggression, 22 October 1962.

Ever since India became independent, we have been interested in these various happenings all over the world. Indeed, we were interested in foreign affairs even before. But the first thing that we kept in view was to build our own country on solid foundations and not to get entangled in matters which did not directly affect us. Not that we are not interested in those matters but the burden of these entanglements would be too great....

Our general approach has been as far as possible, one of non-intereference in the various conflicts in other parts of the world.... we have followed this policy with greater or less success.

The policy we were pursuing was not merely neutral or passive or negative but that it was a policy which flowed from our historical as well as our recent past, from our national movement and from the various ideals that we have proclaimed from time to time.... Since India has to guard her newly won independence and solve many problems that have accumulated in the past, it becomes inevitable that she should follow a policy that will help as best it can to maintain world peace and also avoid, as far as possible, entanglements in world conflicts.

We wanted to follow not a merely neutral or negative policy but a positive one, naturally helping those forces that we consider right and naturally disapproving of the things that we do not like but fundamentally keeping away from other countries and other alignments of powers which normally lead to major conflicts. That does not mean that, in our economic life or in other spheres of life, we do not incline this way or that; it does, however, mean, in the jargon of the day, that we do not line up with this or that set of forces but try to maintain a certain friendliness and spirt of cooperation with both the great and the small countries of the world.

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India must function according to the ways and methods of her own thinking, if she is to have any weight. India today is, fortunately, not small in extent, importance, potential resources or in her background of thought and action. When she fails or succeeds, she does so because of her own weakness or strength and not because of external factors.

In Parliament, 17 March 1950.

We call ourselves non-aligned countries. The word "non-aligned" may be differently interpreted, but basically it was coined and used with the meaning of being non-aligned with the great power blocs of the world. "Non-aligned" has a negative meaning. But if we give it a positive connotation it means nations which object to lining up for war purposes to military blocs, to military alliances and the like. We keep away from such an approach and we want to throw our weight in favour of peace. In effect therefore, when there is a crisis involving the possibility of war, the very fact that we are unaligned should stir us to feel that more than ever it is up to us to do whatever we can to prevent such a calamity coming down upon us.

Some six, seven or eight years ago, non-alignment was a rare phenomenon. A few countries here and there asked about it and other countries rather made fun of it or at any rate did not take it seriously. "Non-alignment? What is this? You must be on this side or that"—that was the argument. That argument is dead today. The whole course of history of the last few years has shown a growing opinion spread in favour of the concept of non-alignment. Why? Because it was in tune with the course of events; it was in tune with the thinking of the vast numbers of people, whether the country concerned was non-aligned or not, because they hungered passionately for peace and did not like this massing up of vast armies and nuclear bombs on either side. Therefore, their minds turned to those countries who refused to line up.

We have arrived at a position today where there is no choice left. If people refuse to negotiate, they must inevitably go to war. I am amazed that rigid and proud attitudes are taken up by the great countries as being too high and mighty to negotiate for peace. I submit that it is not their prestige which is involved in such attitudes but the future of the human race. It is our duty and function to say that they must negotiate.

I believe firmly that the only possible way to solve many of these problems ultimately is complete disarmament. I consider disarmament an absolute necessity for the peace of the world. I think that without disarmament the present difficulties, fears and conflicts will continue.

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We have to build in our own countries societies where freedom is real. Freedom is essential, because freedom will give us strength and enable us to build prosperous societies. These are for us basic problems. When we think in terms of these basic problems, war becomes an even greater folly than ever. If we cannot prevent war, all our problems suffer and we cannot deal with them. But if we can prevent war, we can go ahead in solving our other problems. We can help to liberate the parts of the world under colonial and imperial rule and we can build up our own free, prosperous societies in our respective countries. That is positive work for us to do. Therefore, I venture to submit to this assembly that we must lay the greatest stress on the removal of this major danger of war today. Not only is this incumbent on us but if we do this we shall be in line with the thinking of millions and millions of people. Non-alignment has received strength from the fact that millions of people are not aligned and that they do not want war.

Let us use this strength rightly, with courtesy and with a friendly approach so that we may influence those who have the power of war and peace in their hands. Let us try, if not to prevent war for all time, to push it away so that in the meantime the world may learn the ways of mutual cooperation.

Speech at the Conference of Non-Aligned Nations,
Belgrade, 2 September 1961.

We have followed a policy of non-alignment and I believe in it fully. I hope we shall continue to follow it. But even the old concept of non-alignment is slowly undergoing a change. On the one side, the Soviet Union and China are beginning to fall out. On thc other side, there is some attempt at a closer approach between the United States and the Soviet Union. We cannot, at this stage, say much about it, but it does hold out some hope.

Our policy of non-alignment has won favour in the world not only among the "non-aligned" countries and the newly independent countries of Africa and Asia but even among the major aligned countries like the United States and the Soviet Union who have come to see some virtue in it and want it to be continued. It has surprised me, therefore, that just at this moment of our success in this policy, some people in India should doubt its worth.

In the Lok Sabha on the Colombo Conference
Proposals, 25 January 1963.

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But there is one approach that troubles me, and that is the idea of thinking that areas in Asia, for instance in West Asia, are vacuums which have to be filled by somebody stepping in from outside. That, I feel, is a dangerous approach. It is an unreal approach to say that every country which has insufficient armaments is a vacuum. At that rate, if you think in terms of armaments, there are only two countries which have an adequate supply of hydrogen bombs, the United States of America and the Soviet Union. You may say all other countries are vacuums, because they do not have hydrogen bombs, which would be an absurd thing to say. What is the test then ? Military power ? Two countries stand out above all others. There are two or three or four other countries which are powerful military nations, and even Great Powers. Outside of these five or six, are all the smaller and militarily weaker countries vacuums ? What is the test of this vacuum idea, which is a dangerous idea, especially for Asian and African countries ? It seems to me really to lead to the conclusion that where circumstances compel an imperialist Power to withdraw, necessarily you must presume that it has left a vacuum. If so, how is that vacuum to be filled ? Surely if somebody else comes in, it is a repetition of the old story, perhaps in a different form. It can only be filled by the people of that country growing and developing themselves economically, politically and otherwise.

Debate on Foreign Affairs, Lok Sabha, 25 March 1957.

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Commonwealth

I have spent many years here, but in the past, inevitably there was a sense of conflict and hostility as between India and England. Fortunately, that is passing away, and we are approaching each other in new terms and in a new atmosphere of cooperation.

The old colonial empire of Britain gradually changed into a combination of free Commonwealth countries or Dominions and the relics of their colonial, non-self governing countries. Now, those colonial countries, or many of them, have also become free. Some still remain. I hope this change-over will be completed soon so that the Commonwealth of Nations will become a real commonwealth of free nations.

It has been a remarkable change as far as India is concerned, because it affected not only vast numbers of people but also because of our past conflict lasting through generations. It shows that when the right step is taken, the consequences of that right step come swiftly.

In India today there is very little ill feeling in spite of the past against England; and I think what little might remain will also fade away soon, as we cooperate together in the great tasks that confront us.

After all, the objectives of the Commonwealth can only be the objectives so nobly stated in the Charter of the United Nations—that is the establishment of peace, the prevention of conflict and the establishment of human rights all over the world.

If the Commonwealth cannot succeed in doing that in its own sphere, but help to do that in the larger sphere of the world, then the Commonwealth will have given the best possible lead to the world.

This meeting has shown me that there is great scope for the Commonwealth to function in this way, and not only to help itself but to help others also.

Broadcast from London, 26 October 1948.

Our foreign policy has often been declared by me to be one of working for peace and friendship with all countries and of avoiding alignments with power blocs. That remains the keystone of our policy still. We stand for the freedom of suppressed nationalities and for the ending of racial discrimination. I am convinced that the Sovereign Indian Republic, freely associating herself with the other countries of the Commonwealth, will be completely free to follow this policy; perhaps in an even greater measure and with greater influence than before.

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We took a pledge long ago to achieve Purna Swaraj (complete independence); we have achieved it. Does a nation lose its independence by an alliance with another country ? Alliances normally mean mutual commitments. The free association of sovereign Commonwealth nations does not involve such commitments. Its very strength lies in its flexibility and its complete freedom. It is well known that it is open to any member nation to go out of the Commonwealth if it so chooses.

It must be remembered that the Commonwealth is not a super-state in any sense of the term. We have agreed to consider the King as the symbolic head of this free association. But the King has no function attached to that status in the Commonwealth. As far as the Constitution of India is concerned, the King has no place and we shall owe no allegiance to him.

It has been India's privilege in the past to be a meeting place for many cultures. It may be her privilege in the present and the future to be a bridge to join warring factions and to help in maintaining that most urgent thing of today and the future—the peace of the world. It is in the belief that India could more effectively puruse this policy of encouraging peace and freedom, and of lessening the bitter hatreds and tensions in the world, that I willingly agreed to the London agreement. I associated myself with the decisions taken in London at the Prime Ministers' meeting in the full belief that they were the right decisions for our country and for the world. I trust that the Indian people will also view them in that light and accept them in a manner worthy of the stature and culture of India and with full faith in our future.

Broadcast from New Delhi, 10 May 1949.

I am often asked how we can join a Commonwealth in which there is racial discrimination, in which there are other things happening to which we object. That I think, is a fair question and it is a matter which must necessarily give us some trouble in our thinking. Nevertheless, it is a question which does not really arise. That is to say, when we have entered into an alliance with a nation or a group of nations, it does not mean that we accept their other policies, it does not mean that we commit ourselves in any way to something that they may do. In fact, this House knows that we are carrying on at the present moment a struggle, or our countrymen are carrying on a struggle in regard to racial discrimination in various parts of the world.

We join the Commonwealth, obviously, because we think it is beneficial to us and to certain causes in the world that we wish to advance. The other countries of the Commonwealth want us to remain, because they think it is beneficial to them. It is mutually understood that it is to the advantage of

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the nations in the Commonwealth and therefore they join. At the same time, it is made perfectly clear that each country is completely free to go its own way ; it may be that they may sometimes go so far as to break away from the Commonwealth. In the world today where there are so many disruptive forces at work, where we are often on the verge of war, I think it is not a safe thing to encourage the breaking up of any association that one has. Break up the evil part of it, break up anything that may come in the way of your growth, because nobody dare agree to anything which comes in the way of a nation's growth. Otherwise, apart from breaking the evil parts of the association, it is better to keep going a cooperative association which may do good in this world than to break it.

In the present instance, what is happening is that a certain association has been in existence for a considerable time past. A very great change came in the way of that association about a year and eight or nine months ago, from August 15, 1947. Now another major change is contemplated. Gradually the conception is changing. Yet that certain link remains in a different form. Now, politically we are completely independent. Economically we are as independent as independent nations can be. Nobody can be 100 per cent independent in the sense of absolute lack of dependence. India has to depend on the rest of the world for her trade, for her commerce and for many supplies that she needs today for her food unfortunately, and so many other things. We cannot be absolutely cut off from the world.

I wanted the world to see that India did not lack faith in herself, and that India was prepared to cooperate even with those with whom she had been fighting in the past ; provided the basis of cooperation today was honourable, that it was a free basis, a basis which would lead to the good not only of ourselves, but of the world also. That is to say, we would not deny that cooperation, simply because in the past we had fought, and thus carry on the trail of our past *karma* along with us. We have to wash out the past with all its evil. I wanted, if I may say so in all humility, to help in letting the world look at things in a slightly different perspective, or rather try to see how vital questions could be approached and dealt with.

Some people have thought that by our joining or continuing to remain in the Commonwealth of Nations we are drifting away from our neighbours in Asia, or that it has become more difficult for us to cooperate with other countries, great countries in the world. But I think it is easier for us to develop closer relations with other countries while we are in the Commonwealth than it might have been otherwise. This is rather a peculiar thing to say. Nevertheless, I say it, and I have given a great deal of thought to this matter. The Commonwealth does not come in the way of our cooperation and friendship with countries . . . . If we dissociate ourselves completely from the Commonwealth, then for the moment we are completely isolated. We cannot remain completely isolated, and so

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inevitably by stress of circumstances, we have to incline in some direction or other. But that inclination in some direction or other will necessarily be a basis of give and take.

In the Constituent Assembly Meeting for
Continuance in the Commonwealth,
New Delhi, 16 May 1949.

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Lal Bahadur Shastri

A Positive Programme for Peace

The Government and people of India stand dedicated to freedom and peace, to the principle of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence, and to the eradication of racialism and colonialism.

Even in the days of our own freedom struggle, Jawaharlal Nehru had raised the question of the freedom of the African peoples. He had said about a quarter of a century ago that Africa would emerge one day as a new force on the world scene. How truly that prophecy has been fulfilled. Africa, which had been kept in bondage for more than a century, is on the march, determined to fulfil its destiny. We have no doubt that whatever remnants of colonialism remain will soon disappear.

We have asserted and proclaimed the right to think for ourselves and to speak for ourselves. Our voice is not an echo. It is the authentic voice of the people we represent and for whom we speak. And we and our people share and agree upon certain ideals and certain objectives. First and foremost, we believe in peace, in the settlement of all disputes through peaceful means, in the abolition of war, and more particularly, nuclear war. Secondly, we believe in freedom, freedom for the people of each country to follow their destiny without external interference. And, above all, we believe in the dignity of man as an individual whatever his race, colour or creed, and in his right to a better, fuller and richer life.

The non-aligned nations have the supreme task of chalking out, in the light of the latest developments in the world, a programme of action which should be followed in pursuit of their common objectives. The time has now come to formulate a positive programme in the furtherance of peace. The main elements in the programme, in our view, should be the following five points : (1) nuclear disarmament; (2) peaceful settlement of border disputes; (3) freedom from foreign domination, aggression, subversion and racial discrimination; (4) acceleration of economic development through international cooperation; and (5) full support for the United Nations and its programmes for peace and development.

We, the non-aligned countries, should continue to play a helpful role in promoting agreement towards total nuclear disarmament. It is important to realise that the mere limitation of tests, proclamation of certain areas as being free from nuclear weapons, and any other limited measures of this character will not and cannot be enough for protecting humanity from the horrors of nuclear war. Nuclear disarmament must be total and complete and it is in that direction that we must move.

Many of those assembled here might recall how strongly the first Non-Aligned Nations' Conference at Belgrade felt on the subject of nuclear

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tests and how separate missions were sent to the USA and the USSR to persuade them to desist from further tests. With this background in mind, this Conference should consider the recent disturbing indications which suggest that China is about to explode a nuclear device. . . . We might consider sending a special mission to persuade China to desist from developing nuclear weapons. . . . The threat to humanity from one more country having nuclear weapons at its disposal is a far more serious matter. We in India stand committed to the use of nuclear power only for peaceful purposes and, even though in a purely technical and scientific sense, we are capable of developing nuclear weapons, our scientists and technicians are under firm orders not to make a single experiment, not to perfect a single device which is not needed for peaceful uses of atomic energy. Despite all our differences, may I venture to take this opportunity. . . of appealing to China to accept a similar discipline ?

My second point relates to the peaceful settlement of border disputes. While the cold war has abated somewhat, yet all too often fighting breaks out in different parts of the world because neighbours have boundary disputes. We should welcome the proposals made by Chairman Khrushchev and other Heads of Government on renouncing the use of force for solving territorial disputes or questions of frontiers. At the recent meeting of the Organisation of African Unity, the African states pledged themselves to respect the borders that existed when they achieved their national independence. This is a positive lead which must be followed and the principle should be made universal.

The third point I wish to make is this : because of our past history and our own freedom struggle, we stand unequivocally for the emancipation of colonies and dependent countries, we strongly believe—in theory as well as in practice—in giving equal opportunities to all, regardless of race, caste, creed or sex. We are entirely opposed to the doctrine of racialism, wheresoever and in whatever form it may be practised.

On this continent of Africa, there are quite a few areas which are unfortunately still under the shackles of colonial rule. Portuguese oppression continues in Angola, Mozambique and the so-called Portuguese Guinea. In Southern Rhodesia, the White Minority Government seeks to impose its will on the majority. Over South West Africa, the illegal and alien rule of South Africa continues in defiance of world public opinion. We greet the freedom fighters from Angola and other oppressed territories and offer them full support for the success of their heroic struggle for independence.

While we stand pledged to the right of self-determination for dependent territories under colonial rule, I would like to sound a note of caution. Self-determination is the right of any country that is dominated by another. But there can be no self-determination for different areas and regions within a sovereign and independent country, for this would only lead to fragmentation and disruption and no country's integrity would be

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safe. Hateful policies of apartheid and racial discrimination of the Union of South Africa are an affront to mankind. India severed her trade relations completely with South Africa in 1946. In economic terms this meant considerable loss. Through all these years we have adhered firmly to this policy. How we wish more countries were able to observe and implement this policy!

The programme for economic development through international co-operation, which is my fourth point, is not, let me emphasise at the outset, a programme for seeking more aid. It is basically a programme of greater effort on the part of each developing country to mobilise its own resources. We want to stand on our own feet. If we are unable to do so straightaway, it is mainly because a long-period of political subjection has sapped our resources and stifled our initiative. We therefore do need help, but what we seek should be the minimum and not the maximum and it should be directed towards making us independent of aid. In such a programme, we developing nations, must help ourselves and help each other even before we seek assistance from outside.

We are now in the middle of what is called the United Nations Development Decade. We have had a Conference on Trade and Development in Geneva earlier this year. May I say that while these are important steps in the right direction, we are not satisfied with what has been done or promised so far ?

The target of economic growth which was set for the Development Decade by the United Nations is in need of an upward revision. The work done at Geneva needs to be carried forward. Meanwhile, all states must agree to implement the recommendations embodied in the final Act. The most important of these is bringing into being new international institutions which have been envisaged.

My fifth and last point relates to the support which all of us must give to the United Nations in pursuit of the policies to which I have just referred. We are all members of the United Nations and if we meet and confer on our own we do so only with a view to strengthening the United Nations as an organisation and to carrying its objectives forward.

While we have been moving steadily in the direction of the universality of membership, a major exception is China, which is still not a member. Although we have our differences with China, we have always supported and still support her admission to the United Nations. Furthermore, as countries which are still under colonial regimes of one kind or the other attain their independence, we would hope to see every part of the globe represented through the government of its own choice in the United Nations.

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The United Nations, as a whole, has given support to the policies and programmes of peace, freedom and progress, which have been engaging our attention here. We should support it not merely in words but in action.

Speech at the Non-Aligned Nations' Conference
in Cairo, 7 October, 1964.

The biggest problem facing humanity today is how to avert violent conflicts and conflagrations. Even after the conclusion of the last devastating war, the world has never been completely at peace. There has been turmoil and violence continuously in one part of the world or the other during the last twenty years. A great many conflicts in the world have arisen because of attempts by some powers to alter historical boundaries by force. It seems important that the existing borders and frontiers of different countries should be accepted and they should not be disturbed through violence. If there is a dispute or a difference, the matter should be settled peacefully, even if it means waiting and delays for some time., To commit aggression for the rectification of border disputes is dangerous and will inevitably lead to bigger conflicts. It would be advisable, therefore for international bodies to give serious thought to this matter and to resolve on abjuring violence for the solution of frontier or border disputes.

We seem to have entered a new phase in which there is a great danger of proliferation of nuclear weapons. A new element of anxiety has thus appeared on the international horizon. Despite overwhelming world public opinion against nuclear weapons and nuclear weapon testing, new nations are acquiring or aspiring to acquire nuclear weapons. Today at least half a dozen nations, in addition to those which are already nuclear powers or have exploded nuclear weapons have the capacity to produce nuclear weapons within a short time. With each new nation becoming a nuclear power, a sense of fear among the other increases and alongside comes the desire to produce nuclear weapons for ensuring their own security. It is becoming fashionable in some quarters to possess nuclear weapons, both as a symbol of power and as an assurance of security—though both these aspects are highly exaggerated—and with every new nation that acquires nuclear weapons, the danger of world war increases.

We are among the countries which have the capabilty to produce nuclear weapons. We have enough know-how and scientific skill to do so. We have, however, decided, despite the dangers to which we are exposed, as a matter of deliberate policy not to produce nuclear weapons and to use energy for peaceful purposes only.

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In this context disarmament has acquired even greater urgency than before. Disarmament is the problem of problems, and on the solution of it depends the future of humanity.

Speech at the Special Convocation of
the McGill University, Canada, 14 June 1965.

The people of India are clear in their belief that peace can be established throughout the world only when the last vestiges of colonialism have been eliminated. I want, therefore, to reiterate today how strongly we support the aspirations of the people of countries such as Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa for independence and for freedom from foreign rule.

It is absolutely essential that the colonies must get their freedom as early as possible. Although a number of countries have already attained their independence, colonialism still persists and this must be eliminated from the face of the earth so that men everywhere may live in freedom and with a sense of national dignity.

We are most unhappy at the situation in Vietnam which is a great danger to peace. We want peace to be restored throughout Vietnam. All outside interference should cease and the people of Vietnam should be able to live their lives in freedom and with dignity. Every endeavour should be made to bring about the stoppage of armed conflict and wean away the parties concerned from the battlefield to the conference table. There can be no military solution to the Vietnam problem. I have already said publicly that the bombings in North Vietnam should stop and the right atmosphere should be created for a peaceful solution....peace is essential for the preservation of humanity in this thermo-nuclear age. The only alternative to peaceful coexistence is complete destruction and even total annihilation. We must, therefore, cooperate amongst ourselves in the task of strengthening peace and promoting international amity and goodwill. We must also not lose sight of the fact that peace is indivisible and that a threat of war anywhere is a threat to peace everywhere.

We strongly believe that the primary responsibility of countries which have secured independence from colonial domination is to provide relief to their people who have suffered so long under foreign rule. All attention has to be concentrated on economic development with a view to providing adequate food, clothing, shelter, education and medical facilities to the people by the establishment of a just economic and social order. Peace is thus of vital importance to the developing countries. Those who seek to create an atmosphere of strife and to build up tensions are no friends of

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the developing countries. In fact, they compel the developing countries to divert their limited resources from projects for economic development to armaments for national defence.

While India pursues steadfastly the policy of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence, certain countries are casting covetous eyes on our territories and are attempting to violate our frontiers. In this manner our territorial integrity and national sovereignty is threatened. We as a people believe in peace and in the pursuit of peaceful methods even for the settlement of international disputes. We are prepared always to sit together and discuss such disputes as may arise. But if the path of peace and negotiation is discarded and aggression is committed, we are duty-bound to safeguard our freedom and to defend our frontiers. In such a situation we would consider no sacrifice too great. Our responsibility for the preservation of our freedom is higher than any other responsibility. I want to make it clear that we have no desire whatsoever to take even an inch of any other country's territory. In fact such an idea never even occurs to our mind. At the same time we are determined that we shall not allow any part of our own territory to be annexed by force by any other country, no matter what its alignment and what its power.

Reply to Address of Welcome by the Soviet Prime Minister
at a reception at the Kremlin, Moscow, 15 May 1965.

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Non-Alignment

One of the great achievements of Jawaharlal Nehru was to put India on the map of the world. He evolved and shaped a foreign policy which struck a new path in international relations and showed a new way to the whole world.

Ours is a policy of non-alignment. We do not want to join any power bloc, Eastern or Western. This was a policy decision of Jawaharlal Nehru. If we align ourselves to any power bloc, I doubt whether we would be able to think freely or do what we consider right for our own country. Today Nehru's policy of non-alignment has been adopted by many Asian and African countries and it has struck roots there....Thus non-alignment and peaceful co-existence have become a base, a foundation on which peace and amity in the world can be built. We want to further our friendly relations with those countries which are with us in our pursuit of the policy of non-alignment.

Speech at a Public Meeting in New Delhi, 27 May 1965,
the first death anniversary of Jawaharlal Nehru.

Indo-Soviet Relations

The Soviet Union was one of the first countries with which we established diplomatic relations after the dawn of freedom in our country. We did so in the conviction that the development of friendly relations between our two countries was necessary not only in the interests of our two peoples but also in the larger interests of peace throughout the world.

Over the years there has been a most remarkable development in our relations in the political, economic and cultural fields. The close and ever-growing understanding and cooperation between our two countries on many vital international questions is a lasting tribute to the success of the policy of peaceful co-existence between states with different political, social and economic systems to which both our governments steadfastly subscribe.

We are particularly gratified by the constant understanding and respect your Government has shown for our policy of non-alignment. This policy is not based on considerations of expediency but finds its roots in the history and traditions of our country from ancient times. In the context of today we are firmly convinced that the policy of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence is the best means of preserving our independence and sovereignty. We have adhered to this policy in spite of the serious pressures

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and threats to our independence and territorial integrity we have been subjected to. It is no exaggeration for me to say that our ability to pursue this policy has to a large extent been due to the understanding and support which your Government has extended to this policy.

It has been a source of great satisfaction to us to see the development of close understanding and cooperation between our two countries on many vital international questions. At the United Nations and other international forums our delegations have cooperated fruitfully in the pursuit of common objectives. Your support on some vital issues concerning India has been deeply appreciated by our Government and people and has forged unbreakable bonds of friendship between us.

The close cooperation and understanding which so happily exists in the approach of our two countries to various international problems flows from our common quest for peace and our common desire to eliminate war. It is for this reason that both our countries are totally opposed to the use of force for the settlement of international disputes. Similarly, we share the view that general and complete disarmament must be achieved as early as possible if mankind is to be saved from the threat of complete annihilation. The Test Ban Treaty which was signed in this historic city two years ago was a significant first step on the way to disarmament. India was one of the first countries to sign this treaty. Unfortunately, not all countries have found it possible to subscribe to this treaty and the world now faces the dangerous consequences of an unrestricted proliferation of nuclear weapons. The international community has to address itself with the utmost seriousness of this problem if there is to be any guarantee that weapons of mass destruction will not pass into the hands of a larger number of countries, thereby resulting in a serious threat to the security of the world. It is a matter of great satisfaction that our governments have always worked in close coordination in all matters relating to disarmament.

I would like to express our gratitude for the substantial economic assistance we have received from the Soviet Union during our Second and Third Five Year Plan periods. The various schemes and projects which have been implemented with Soviet aid have gone a long way in creating a base for the economic structure we are planning to build in our country.

We are also happy in the thought that in so many spheres of economic activity in our country, we are successfully collaborating with the Soviet Union and are steadily but surely progressing towards the establishment in our country of a socialist society in which there will be no serious inequalities between the rich and the poor and in which all our people will be assured of a reasonable standard of living.

At the State Banquet at the Kremlin,
Moscow, 12 May, 1965.

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India-Pakistan Relations

The Indian Government and the Indian people have no ill will against the people of Pakistan. We wish them well and we would be happy to see them progress on the road to prosperity, We are aware that their prosperity as well as the prosperity of the people of India, of the 600 million people who inhabit this sub-continent, depends upon the preservation of peace. It is for this reason that we have adhered fervently to the path of peace all these years. A war in the Indian sub-continent may well undo the massive efforts which have been made in both countries to secure an improvement in the living standards of our people. The march in this direction has only just begun and there is yet a long way to go.

I must reiterate clearly and emphatically that the Government of India do not recognise that there is any territorial dispute about the Rann of Kutch. Let me also make it clear that the threat of total war held out by President Ayub will not deter us from performing our rightful duties. No Government in the world would be worth its name if it allows its own territories to be annexed by force by an aggressive neighbour. The Government of India know their responsibilities in the present situation and they are determined to discharge them most effectively.

The threat to our freedom is real, continuing and immediate. We have to meet this threat with all our resources and with all our might. We can afford to give up a few projects of economic development but we cannot allow our defence mechanism to be in any manner inadequate for safeguarding our frontiers.

Statement in the Rajya Sabha, 3 May 1965.

You are aware that a few days back Pakistan committed aggression on the Kutch border. We faced the attack with courage and strength. In the event of a war being forced on us, I am confident that India will be in a position to fight back effectively. But we must always remind ourselves of the advice Jawaharlal Nehru used to give us that war should always be avoided. War is a great destructive force ... In the present-day world, no war can remain a local war; it must inevitably escalate into a world war. We have to think and think again before we decide to abandon the path of peace and allow ourselves to be drawn into a war. You all know how often and how persuasively Jawaharlalji taught us that the country's honour lay in the path of peace and amity. He firmly believed that whenever there were differences between countries; they should be solved

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through peaceful negotiations. In this belief the whole country was behind him.

We firmly hold that the Rann of Kutch is an integral part of India and that Pakistan has no claim on any part of this area. It is true that a portion of it had not been demarcated; that is to say, the exact boundary line had not been drawn on the ground. Talks were held between Pakistan and India about this in 1960 and it was decided that after further discussions the border would be demarcated on the ground. But in spite of our repeated reminders Pakistan did not do anything to follow up the discussion of 1960, and now all of a sudden they have attacked our posts in this area. We are still willing to agree to the proposal that if Pakistan wants to settle the issue peacefully, she must vacate the Rann of Kutch, including Biarbet and Kanjarkot.

Our position is quite clear... we are still prepared to settle the matter in a peaceful way. But we shall not back out of our basic policies; in settling this affair we shall insist that the solution is consistent with the honour and dignity of the country.

At a Public Meeting in New Delhi, 27 May 1965.

Our objective at this meeting should not be recrimination over the past, but a new look towards the future.

I know that there are many unresolved differences between our two countries. Even between countries with the best of relationship, there are differences and even disputes. The question which we have both to face is whether we should think of force as a method of solving them, or whether we should decide and declare that force will never be used.

If other countries, even those with vast resources and much deeper differences, can avoid an armed conflict and live together on the basis of peaceful co-existence, should not countries like India and Pakistan, whose main problem is the economic betterment of their people, give up the idea of solving any problem by recourse to arms ?

The only justification for the use of force in international relations is to repel aggression. Our assurance to each other not to use force would mean, therefore, that each agrees to respect the territorial integrity of the other.

We have always said, and I say it today also, that we unreservedly accept Pakistan's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Equally, we have to preserve our own territorial integrity and sovereignty. Respect for each other's sovereignty is essential for peace and good relations.

Once this has been clearly aecepted, the whole character of Indo-Pakistan relationship could be tranformed to the benefit of the people of both countries.

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The foundation of such relationship should be, as I have said, the acceptance of the policy of peaceful co-existence. In pursuance of this, action will have to be taken on several fronts. For instance, the atmosphere of cold war has to be removed.

Our aim should be to improve the totality of the relationship between the two countries. Our trade has been shrinking. It should grow instead. Many rivers flow between India and Pakistan. Instead of being a source of controversy, they could, through cooperative endeavour enrich both our countries.

There are many other areas of economic cooperation which, given goodwill and understanding, can be developed to our mutual advantage.

It would be a notable achievement if at this meeting which Chairman Kosygin has convened, an agreement could emerge for renouncing the use of force for settling our differences. This should pave the way for the kind of good neighbourly relations which both countries need, and would also make the solution of many of our problems much easier.

A heavy responsibility lies on our shoulders. The sub-continent has a population of 600 million—one-fifth of the human race. If India and Pakistan have to progress and prosper, they must learn to live in peace. If there is constant conflict and hostility, our peoples would suffer even greater hardships.

Instead of fighting each other, let us start fighting poverty, disease and ignorance. The problems, the hopes and the aspirations of the common people of both the countries are the same. They want not conflict and war, but peace and progress. They do not need arms and ammunition, but food, clothing and shelter.

If we are to fulfil this obligation to our peoples, we should, at this meeting try to achieve something specific and positive.

This is a momentous meeting. The eyes of the world are upon us. Let it not be said that the President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India met and failed to reach an agreement. Let us show by our actions that we are capable of seeing our own problems in the wider context of world events.

Text of the Speech at the Opening of the
Tashkant Conference, 4 January 1966.

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INDIRA GANDHI

General Policy

Foreign Policy cannot be divorced from a country's internal policy. Any country, any government, any political party must decide what it believes in, and all its policies must then flow from this basic conviction or belief. What is our foreign policy ? Some people take the word "non-alignment" and think that is the whole of our foreign policy. In a way it is not the word "non-alignment," but what "non-alignment" stands for, namely, that we believe in independently judging all issues. We do not wish to be tied to any group or to any country.

Basically, what do we want from our foreign policy ? What is the ideal we pursue ? Is that ideal divorced from the practical interest of the country, or is it allied with it ? As it happens our ideal and practical interests are the same. No government can afford, however idealistic it may be, to leave or neglect the practical interests of the country. We have believed—and we do believe now—that freedom is indivisible, that peace is indivisible, that economic prosperity is indivisible. And these are the fundamentals on which our foreign policy is based. We have stood for the freedom of all countries. Even when we were not free, when we were in no position to help other countries, we went out of our way to give them whatever moral and other support we could. And I know that moral support was welcomed and it did help these countries. Today we have the same stand. We know that joining together with the Afro-Asian group is not going to immediately strengthen any of the countries who belong to that group. But we know that there is no other way of strengthening them either. We share the common problems. common difficulties, common threats. And we can face them only by trying to stand on our own feet, by having stability within our country and by having economic progress. We think we can have stability and progress only if we take a particular economic path — the path of socialism through which we give social justice to our people. It is the same social justice, in the international sphere for which we stand. We believe that while there are poor nations and rich nations, there is bound to be tension. There is not only tension between the poor and the rich but there is tension among the rich because of their desire to control or to influence the developing nations. This is how in the past most wars took place and this is the reason for much of the tension today. Yet you find that in spite of this tension, again and again countries try to follow the path which we have advocated, namely the path of conciliation and of trying to solve problems by means of negotiation rather than by war.

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Now foreign policy has to be based on one's historical and geographical background. That is, we see the world from where we are. Other countries see the world from where they are. So we cannot possibly see it from exactly the same angle. We have certain countries for our neighbours. So it is important what relationship we have with our neighbouring countries. If we are a long way from other countries, we can look at them from different angles.

We also find that in the making of the foreign policy of any country, and perhaps especially of India, there are certain intangible elements which are just as important or decisive in forming our point of view. It is perhaps easier to pursue foreign policy and fashion our relations with other countries if one is a rich and a powerful nation. Now India is not a rich or a powerful nation, and we have to keep that in view.... But we have made up for our lack of riches and power with some other quality.

Earlier because we were in the forefront of the freedom struggle that gave us a certain influence. Also because we had leaders of stature who were able to give inspiration to other countries who were in similar position as we were. Today that situation has changed. All these countries have been free for a number of years ; they are all trying to stand on their own feet and none of them would like to be guided by any other country. They would like to have friends, but they would not like to feel that any one country is superior to them. We ourselves perhaps would not like that position. So we can understand that other countries, and especially countries which are smaller, do not like that position, and we should be very careful that at no time, we give an impression that we are wanting to take a leading position. That would immediate mean that we are trying to push them towards a somewhat backward position.

So when we find ourselves in the situation which we are in, that is in an extremely difficult economic and political situation where you do not have power, then either you have to stand firm on your convictions and try to strengthen yourself or you strengthen yourself through alliances.... I think the only security is to strengthen our own people and to be confident of ourselves.

We are friends today with the United States and the USSR as well as with a lot of other countries. We are helped by many of these countries and we have tried not to be dependent on any one of these countries. We have tried to diversify even the buying of essentials from different countries and at the same time to try and become self-sufficient and to stand on our own feet. But in today's world no country can be absolutely independent of another. It is a world of interdependence. But you can be interdependent only if you are secure in your freedom. If you give up part of your freedom, that relationship changes ; then it is not interdependence ; it becomes something else ; it becomes a form of well, I won't say slavery, but some form of colonialism comes in.... We have to see that the

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relationship is such that it cannot force us into any position which is not in our interest. This is where we have to be firm, and that is why we want to be self-reliant in all the essentials so that at no time can anybody say: Well, you need this, you cannot get it until you do such and such things. This is the position which we have avoided and which we will continue to avoid.

Indira Gandhi's Speech at the A.I.C.C. Seminar on "Some Aspects of Our Foreign Policy," New Delhi, 31 August 1970.

Diplomacy and the conduct of foreign affairs are generally thought to require a certain shrewdness. Perhaps this is important, Machiavelli and Chanakya certainly thought so. But more important are the larger perspectives and farsighted vision.

A country's foreign policy is shaped by many forces. Its position on the map, and the countries which are its neighbours, the policies they adopt and the actions they take. Also its historical experiences in the aggregate and in terms of its particular successes or traumas. For instance, a nation which has suffered colonialism cannot but adopt a particular stance on questions affecting national independence. A nation which had to struggle and sacrifice for its freedom has a different attitude to hegemony than those which became sovereign the easy way. A nation which has been frequently subjected to invasions has to be especially careful about its security. Other determining factors are the country's size and the kind of society it has, the pattern of its natural resources, the level of its own technological development and the nature of its economic needs.

Foreign policy cannot be very different from domestic aspirations and policies. The very concept of nationhood is of fairly recent origin.

Our struggle for freedom was itself a process of nation-building. It took long and was exceptionally harrowing, though often exhilarating. How well I remember the moments of uplift when hardship seemed so small a price for such a glorious cause. The thought of freedom lured us on, as does a bright light at the end of a dark tunnel. But many were the moments of gloom when it seemed that the movement was flagging. In retrospect perhaps it was a blessing that our struggle was long drawn out, for this enabled our leaders to weigh and to plan. It gave our freedom movement a mass base as no other such movement has had. Under the exacting apprenticeship of Mahatma Gandhi, who had his finger on the pulse of the people, Jawaharlal Nehru evolved our national philosophy of demo-

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cracy, non-sectarian tolerance in religion, social and economic justice and a spirit of independence in foreign relations.

Seldom was a movement so conscious of its international context and significance. In the early thirties Harindranath Chattopadhayaya expressed the national sentiment in these words : 'Let us shout from tower and steeple, now our banner is unfurled. That by fighting for our people we are fighting for the world.' We kept close touch with others with similar aims, and with elements in Europe and America who championed human dignity. We saw with charity the divergence between the profession and practice of most governments of the dominant powers of the day. Some of you may remember how curtly we were informed that the freedoms promised under the Atlantic Charter did not apply to the people of India or of other parts of Asia and Africa. From such experience was born the concept of non-alignment, the logical continuation of the sprit of non-cooperation with colonialism.

Alignment might bring more aid but it does not strengthen the self-reliant foundations of freedom. Also, it inhibits people from making their own economic decisions. Hence non-alignment helped us to become more technologically self-reliant.

Non-alignment is a policy but not an objective by itself. The objective is freedom of judgement and of action so as to safeguard the nation's true strength and basic interests.

In the early years, we had neither the resources nor the desire to get entangled in the rivalries and conflicts of the blocs and their war preparations. The gigantic proportions of our problems needed our total attention. Only in conditions of peace could we concentrate on development. This consideration remains valid today. Whatever the difficulties of self-reliance, and we should not under-estimate them, still less can we afford dependence on others, either for development or defence. A small country could, and some did, achieve growth through large scale aid. India is far too vast and its problems too massive to be bailed out by any other country. For us, self-reliant development is not merely desirable, it is the only possible way.

Even when the direction is clear, foreign policy needs careful steering, because it is buffeted by the waves and winds from within and without. The framers of policy and their executors and interpreters—the country's diplomatic service—need the benefit of continuous public debate. Parliament is important and the press too has a special role. No less is the contribution of universities and the academic community. We require more specialisation and more thoroughgoing multi-disciplinary area studies as well as specialised assessments of individual problems in foreign policy

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and security. In the absence of these, we tend to accept foreign interpretations and influences far too readily.

Inaugural Speech at the Silver Jubilee Celebrations
of the School of International Studies,
Jawaharlal Nehru University,
New Delhi, 30 October 1981.

The world situation is far more complex than our collective appraisal of it.... Tensions, mistrust and confrontation between the great powers are rising. Even the words in which they address each other are increasingly inflexible, threatening and condemnatory. The very fabric of international peace is under serious stress. The world stands a helpless witness to a major escalation of the nuclear arms race.

Against this sombre background. I believe this coming together of statesmen from different parts of the world in a search for peace, disarmament and development is indeed timely and essential.

Obviously, disarmament must remain high on the list of priorities of all nations and even individuals who are anxious about the human race and our beautiful planet, of all who consider peace, security and stability indispensable to human survival and progress to higher levels.

Our goal is general and complete disarmament, a process which must necessarily begin with nuclear disarmament. At the moment the trend is in the opposite direction of expanding existing arsenals. Disarmament cannot make any progress until this process is reversed. The first need is to stop the production of nuclear weapons, then reduce and eventually eliminate them. The Non-Aligned Movement has also made some other important proposals involving, *inter alia* an international convention prohibiting the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons, which has been endorsed by the General Assembly. However discouraging the response of those directly concerned, we cannot afford to slacken our efforts.

Several political issues also demand our urgent attention. Peace in West Asia remains of paramount concern. It must be based on a just and durable settlement of the questions at the core of the problem, Israeli aggression and the self-determination of a nationhood for the Palestinian people. The valiant and oppressed people of Namibia also look to us for continued solidarity and support. The independence of Namibia cannot be thwarted or delayed through the projection of great power interests, or by linking it with extraneous considerations. The United Nations has special responsibility in this regard. We should like to see it exert its great authority fully in resolving these issues.

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We are worried about Lebanon. It is good that a ceasefire has been announced. Lebanon has not had peace and tranquility for many years. Its current troubles are largely due to last year's Israeli aggression. Israel must withdraw completely from Lebanon. We, the non-aligned support the unity and territorial integrity of Lebanon and the withdrawal of all foreign forces.

Events in Central America, the acts of provocation and aggression aggravating tensions cannot but cause grave concern to non-aligned countries. I hope, the United Nations will continue to support the Contadora initiative for a peaceful resolution of the problems of this troubled region.

Another important question that has engaged our attention is the unfortunate and unresolved conflict between Iran and Iraq which has sapped the strength of both countries, and taken a heavy toll of human lives on both sides.

At the centre of the current crisis lies the inability of the outdated and inequitable international monetary and financial system to deal with the current and future needs of the economy of the world and particularly of the developing countries. The only effective way out is a comprehensive reform of the existing system through an international conference on money and finance.

A just and equitable international economic order is the very foundation of world peace and tranquility in international relations.

Address at the Plenary Meeting of Non-Aligned
Countries at the United Nations,
New York, 26 September 1983.

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India and the World

This year India celebrates the 25th anniversary of her Independence. These have been years of change and turmoil everywhere. Deep surging forces have torn asunder our past colonial feudal structures and have combined with the tides sweeping the world to give our post-Independence evolution its unique qualities. But our own unvarying concerns have been two : to safeguard our independence and to overcome the blight of poverty.

India's foreign policy is a projection of the values which we have cherished through the centuries as well as our current concerns. We are not tied to the traditional concepts of a foreign policy designed to safeguard overseas possessions, investments, the carving out of spheres of influence and the erection of *cordons sanitaires*. We are not interested in exporting ideologies.

Our first concern has been to prevent any erosion of our Independence. Therefore, we could not be camp followers of any power, however rich or strong. We had equal interest in the maintenance and safeguarding of international peace as an essential condition of India's economic, social and political development. In the bipolar world which existed in the immediate post-war era, Jawaharlal Nehru refused to join either bloc. He decided to remain non-aligned as a means of safeguarding our independence and contributing to the maintenance of world peace. Non-alignment implied neither non-involvement nor neutrality. It was and is an assertion of our freedom of judgement and action.

In conformity with the objectives of our foreign policy, India sought friendship with every nation. We did not allow past conflicts to impede our new links with Britain within the framework of the Commonwealth. The problem of French possessions in India, unlike those held by the Portuguese, was solved in a civilized manner by peaceful negotiations. Thereafter, our relations with France grew in cordiality. We have similar relations with the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic and other European countries, both East and West. With the Non-aligned countries in Asia, the Middle East, North Africa and Africa south of the Sahara, there exist special understanding and cooperation based on a common interest in safeguarding freedom and a common struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism and racialism. We have friendships with the countries of Latin America whose concern with problems of development is similar to ours. India has always held Japan in esteem as a dynamic Asian country, and our cooperation with Japan is steadily growing.

We have also tried to have normal relations with Pakistan. Yet, successive governments of Pakistan based the survival and unity of their

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country on the idea of confrontation with India. This has stood in the way of cooperation which would have been to our mutual benefit.

We want better relations with China also. Even when we were fully absorbed in our own struggle for liberty, we supported China's parallel fight against imperialism and sent a medical team to Mao Tse-tung's Eighth Route Army. We have respect for their culture and cherish memories of past contacts. We were among the first in 1949 to welcome the establishment of the People's Republic.

Much to our disappointment, the last two decades have failed to fulfil our initial hope that India and China, both great Asian nations, newly independent and faced with similar problems, would learn from and assist each other and so cooperate on the wider international scene. We began, as we thought, with mutual confidence and goodwill, but the events of the 1960s brought tension and misunderstanding, culminating in the entry of Chinese troops and their occupation of thousands of square miles of Indian territory in 1962.

It would be an over-simplification to regard this merely as the result of a border dispute. Simultaneous or subsequent developments—such as China's systematic support of Pakistan against India, her provocative criticism of India for alleged subservience to the United States and later the Soviet Union, and her persistent, though futile efforts to promote internal subversion—leave us no option but to infer that the border dispute was the outcome of a more complex policy which was aimed at undermining India's stability and at obstructing her rapid and orderly progress.

After the Cultural Revolution, conditions seem more tranquil and there appears to be a new orientation of China's policies. We wonder whether this new mood will also be reflected in China's policy towards India. The earlier faint signs of a thaw have receded since China's unreserved support of General Yahya Khan's campaign against Bangladesh and India. We are not engaged in any competition with China, nor have we any hostile intentions. We hope that some day China will appreciate that cooperative and friendly relations between the 560 million people of India and the 700 million people of China are in our mutual interest.

The Soviet Union shares the Indian view on the maintenance of peace and the elimination of racialism and colonialism. On these issues it has supported the Afro-Asian stand in the United Nations and elsewhere. When matters vitally concerning our national security and integrity, such as Goa, Kashmir and more lately Bangladesh, became subjects of international controversy, the Soviet assessment of the merits of the case coincided largely with our own. In strictly bilateral terms also, there has been a steady increase in the range and volume of our cooperation—economic, commercial and cultural—to our mutual advantage.

The Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation, concluded last year, grew logically from this expanding relationship. It affirms the determina-

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tion of both countries for greater cooperation in various fields and to consult one another, if need be, on suitable measures to safeguard their peace and security.

Our relations with the United States started off rather well. At that time, the American people and government showed considerable sympathy for the colonial people who were struggling for independence and, particularly for India. However, this phase was short-lived. With the rise of the United States to a dominant world position, Washington's concern and respect for the national independence of India receded into the background. Everything was viewed solely in the context of checking communism and containing first the Soviet Union, subsequently China, and now once again the Soviet Union. There was a feverish building of military blocs and a continuous extension of a net-work of bases stretching across oceans and continents. The logical and practical consequences of this policy was to divide the world into two opposing camps and to expect each country to belong to one or the other—preferably the Western bloc.

A newly freed people, jealous of their independence, could not resign themselves to this position, nor could we isolate ourselves from what was happening around us. Successive US administrations have ignored the fact that India must see her problems and her relationships in a different perspective. They have insisted on interpreting our non-alignment within the confines of neutralism which they imagined to be slanted in favour of Russia. India was regarded with disapproval and resentment because of her independent policy. This could not but affect the bilateral relations between India and America. Despite fluctuations of mood, our relationship as a whole has been uneasy over a long period.

To our grave concern, US policy as it developed, impinged seriously on our vital interests. The admission of Pakistan into the US-controlled system of alliances and the massive supply of arms to Pakistan were ostensibly part of the US grand design against communism, but we cannot believe that the US administration was unaware that these weapons could be and would be used only against India. We took considerable pains to point this out but our protests went unheeded.

Should not the people of the United States ask their government what they have gained from America's activities in Europe and in Asia? Has the United States succeeded in containing Communism? On the contrary, has not the US Government been compelled to build bridges with the Non-aligned and to woo the opposite bloc—the hated communists? A great power must take into account the existence not only of countries with comparable power, but of the multitude of others who are no longer willing to be pawns on a global chessboard. Above all, the United States has yet to resolve the inner contradiction between the traditions of the founding fathers and of Lincoln and the external image it gives of a super power pursuing the cold logic of power politics.

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On fundamental questions such as disarmament, the abolition of nuclear weapons, the continuing struggle against colonialism and racialism, the widening gulf between the haves and have-nots, the war in Vietnam and the conflict in the Middle East, our stand has been consistent over the years and has been clearly stated in appropriate forums.

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United Nations

The United Nations is the trustee of world peace and represents the hopes of mankind. Its very existence gives a feeling of assurance that the justice of true causes can be brought fearlessly before the world. This Assembly and the agencies of the United Nations should, in all that they do, sustain those hopes and promote the causes of peace.

Seven years ago, India's first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, addressed this Assembly. He was a believer in seeking areas of agreement and cooperation, and in enlarging them. He advocated before this Assembly a 'new approach to cooperation and the furtherance of the cooperative effort.' The Assembly accepted his suggestion of an International Cooperation Year. The United Nations also launched a Development Decade to promote greater economic cooperation between the rich and the poor nations. Two major international conferences on trade and development were held....

Unfortunately, economic cooperation has little progress to show. Nor has there been any notable advance in international cooperation in the political sphere. The reasons for this failure are obvious and many. Economic and military power continue to dominate politics. The carving out of spheres of influence still motivates policies and actions. The desire to mould other nations in the image of one's own inspires propaganda, sowing seeds of mistrust. Nations continue to place narrow national ends above the larger purpose of peace and universal security.

In India we have been powerfully conditioned by Mahatma Gandhi. We believe that the evolution of individuals and societies depends on the extent to which they exercise self-restraint and abjure the use of force. Jawaharlal Nehru, who combined in himself modern political thought and the basic teaching of Mahatma Gandhi, strove to bring about a new system of relations amongst nations. He was tireless in advocating peaceful co-existence. He believed that in a world rent by conflict, freedom not fear, faith not doubt, confidence not suspicion, would lead to friendship amongst nations.....While there is a search for a more equitable world order, force continues to be used to attain political ends and to promote national or global interests.

If the use of force in international affairs is not renounced, and the rights of nations and the equality of races are not respected, how can tensions be reduced or the dangers of conflicts avoided? The world is caught in a vicious circle, because of which any viable international machinery to regulate relations between states is being progressively undermined and faces the danger of eventual collapse.

Nuclear weapons today represent the ultimate in force. Thus any attempt to eliminate force as the determining factor in international relations must begin with practical steps towards disarmament. But the nuclear

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menace has become an accepted fact of life and the world has developed a certain insensitivity to the nature of the threat. Despite every solemn resolution adopted by this Assembly, states continue to enlarge their capacity for nuclear war. The arms race and the search for more sophisticated weapons have rendered meaningless the concept of balanee of power. Yet, every advance in military technology is accompanied by an effort to maintain a balance of terror. This encourages local wars and undermines the established political authority in states which are struggling to protect their freedom.

It is by restricting, reducing and eventually eliminating the growing nuclear menace that firm foundations of peace can be laid. The limited achievement of the partial test ban treaty has been off-set by the refusal of states to halt the testing of nuclear weapons. The problems of insecurity cannot be solved by imposing arbitrary restrictions on those who do not possess nuclear weapons, without any corresponding steps to deal with the basic problem of limiting stockpiles in the hands of a few powers. How can the urge to acquire nuclear status be controlled so long as this imbalance persists? Unless the powers which possess these weapons are prepared to exercise some self-restraint, collective efforts to rid the world of the nuclear menace cannot bear fruit.

We yearn for peace, not merely because it is good in itself, but because without peace there can be no improvement in the lives of the vast majority of the world's peoples. Development must receive the first priority and must be based on self-reliance. Our peoples expect their governments to build, in a generation, the apparatus of production and distribution which took the present advanced nations many centuries to install. Progress in technology and the acceleration of the processes of history will certainly help the developing nations to telescope the stages of their economic growth. But this acceleration works even more dramatically in favour of the affluent. The chasm between the rich and the poor nations, which is already a source of tension and bitterness in the world, is not decreasing but growing.

This situation is fraught with danger for the future well-being of our world. It is natural that we in the developing countries should be more aware of the peril than those who live in the affluent countries. The peril is on our doorstep, but it is not too far from theirs.

The world has changed, the membership of the United Nations has changed, but attitudes of mind have not. The representatives who are gathered here come from countries with distinct personalities. They have had great civilisations in the past—some known and some yet to be discovered. In the old colonial days, history, geography, culture and civilisation were all viewed from a particular perspective. Even today to be civilised is held to be synonymous with being westernised. Advanced countries devote large resources to formulating and spreading ideas and doctrines and they tend to impose on the developing nations their own norms and methods. The pat-

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tern of the classical acquisitive society with its deliberate multiplication of wants not only is unsuited to conditions in our countries but is positively harmful.

Developing nations have their special problems, and there is much scope for cooperation amongst themselves. Some problems are common, but the conditions in each country differ, and the same remedy cannot be prescribed for all. Those who seek to advise us seldom realise that we need new and different answers to our problems. We need solutions which are suited to our conditions, not imitiative theories of techniques grafted from outside. We must make our own analysis of developments and how to deal with them. International forums such as this Assembly and the Specialised Agencies of the United Nations give us the opportunity to place our views before the world. But of what avail is this if we cannot forge the solidarity which would command attention?

Address to the General Assembly of the
United Nations, New York, 14 October 1968.

Thc United Nations was born out of the experience of the Second World War, out of a desire 'to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war' and to promote universal respect for fundamental human rights and international justice.

Franklin Roosevelt declared that the United Nations spelt 'the end of the system of unilateral action and exclusive alliance, and spheres of influence and balance of power and all the other expedients which have been used for centuries and which have failed.' 'We propose,' he went on to say, 'to substitute for these a universal organisation which all peace-loving nations will have a chance to join.'

Twenty-five years later, the principle of the universality of the United Nations membership does not yet prevail. The system of unilateral action and exclusive alliances has not been disowned. Spheres of influence and balance of power continue to actuate the policies of many nations even though they fail to produce the desired results.

Thus, the United Nations has been afflicted by the same malady as the League of Nations, that is on the attempt to direct and control its activities and to use it as an instrument for national ends . . . there is considerable interference in the internal affairs of many countries. The powerful make their presence felt in many ways. They are relentless in their endeavour to enlarge their spheres of influence. The extension of their military commitments to new areas, inevitably attracts counter-action by other Powers.

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Even then those who feel that the United Nations has not fulfilled its original hopes do recognise that the world needs an international organisation which will work for peace and the peaceful resolution of conflicts. If the United Nations were to disintegrate, would we not find it necessary to establish some other international organisation for the same objectives ? Let us therefore preserve what we have, breathe new meaning and purpose into it, so that it can create an order where the use of force would defeat its own purpose. Countries which like us have won freedom newly, have attachment for this organisation and a special stake in its functioning.

The recent Lusaka Conference of Non-aligned Countries, in which nearly half the members of the United Nations participated, reaffirmed the faith of non-aligned countries in this world organisation and resolved to work to strengthen it. We may not have technological power or nuclear arsenals, but our voice has to be heard. The United Nations should take full advantage of the support of these governments, and also of the inmost desire for peace which exists in the peoples of all nations. That is what enabled the United Nations to survive the cold war. Its influence can be enhanced by keeping it above power politics.

The great revolutionary cycle which was set in motion by the struggles for independence, by the yearning for equality, by the search for a new meaning in life, is not yet complete. In Lusaka, we pledged ourselves to complete the unfinished revolution of our times. Rekindling faith in itself, the United Nations must concern itself with this unfinished task.

The urgent need is for a unified view of the world's resources and the world's experience, and of man's power of invention. We are one of the species on this planet, Earth. Have we the right to squander its resources, to pollute water and air, to extinguish animal and plant life, to upset the delicate balance in Nature and mar its beauty ? Cannot an organisation such as the United Nations direct our thinking in terms of the larger well-being ?

Address to U.N. General Assembly,
22 October, 1970.

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Indo-Soviet Relations

The single most important value which the Soviet Union and India cherish in common is our desire for peace and peaceful construction. To the Indian people, peace and serenity are the highest state which the human spirit can attain.

The acceptance of the right of other countries to live as they choose is the first essential of peace. Hence, the close inter-relationship between peace and co-existence. The idea of tolerance and co-existence was well known in Indian philosophy before it became a political concept and imperative in our times. As Jawaharlal Nehru said, truth is not confined to one country or one people; it has far too many aspects for anyone to presume that he knows. And each country and each people, if they are true to themselves, have to find out their path themselves through trial and error, through suffering and experience. Only then do they grow. If they merely copy others, the result is likely to be that they will never grow.

This determination to be ourselves and to preserve our identity also predisposed us towards non-alignment. India was the biggest and first non-white colony to reach out to freedom. Our independence marked the beginning of the end of the colonial epoch. How could we accept any new limitations on our freedom of decision and action ? We had to avoid military entanglements and concentrate on construction. International experience of the last thirty years confirms the continuing validity of non-alignment. The Soviet Union showed great foresight in accepting India's Non-alignment in our Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation. The Soviet Union has explicitly declared its respect for our policy of non-alignment and reaffirmed that it constitutes an important factor in the maintenance of universal peace. The Soviet Union has unfailingly extended principled support to the national struggles of Asian, African and Latin American peoples and has upheld the right of nations to follow their own policies. The world is large enough for the people of different beliefs and ideologies to live together and flourish, but it is too small to survive a confrontation which might result in a holocaust.

We have watched with admiration the various moves for peace and co-operation initiated personally by General Secretary Brezhnev and by other Soviet leaders in recent years. These have culminated in the Helsinki Declaration and are reflected even more in the climate of cooperation evident in Europe today. India welcomes and appreciates *detente*, even though currently it seems to be under strain. The need is to stablize, strengthen and extend this process to other parts of the globe so that it becomes irreversible. Isolated bases of tranquility cannot by themselves ensure stability when there are other areas where confrontation prevails and threatens a breakdown of peace. So long plagued with

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colonialism and its aftermath, and now tormented by conflict and mistrust, Asia most urgently needs an atmosphere of sympathy and cooperation. It has ideological, ethnic and religious diversity and its deprivation is deeper than anywhere else. So is the magnitude of its multitudinous problems.

Darkness is not dispelled by cursing, but by lighting lamps. Along with international efforts for peace each country must act on its own to reduce the areas of suspicion and to enlarge areas of goodwill. My Government has worked, and is working consistently, to improve relations with all our neighbours. We hope that the international community will support rather than hinder these healthy developments.

Speech at the Banquet given by the President
of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Moscow,
8 June, 1976.

Friendship between the Soviet Union and India is not new or superficial. Its roots go back to the work of Russian scholars who studied our ancient facets. The giants of 19th century Russian literature made a profound impression on us. Between Tolstoy and Gandhi there was a sharing of philosophical experience which transcended the barrier of geography and language. Gorky and Mayakovsky stimulated Indian creative writers. Nor was this influence and interest confined to the cultural field. At the time of your revolution in 1905 Mahatma Gandhi, then leading a fight against racialism in South Africa, wrote in his journal : 'In the caption to this article we have put Russia and India together. We have, therefore, to justify it by showing how India is concerned with events in Russia. The power of the Viceroy is in no way less than that of the Czar. We too can resort to the Russian remedy against tyranny. Our shackles will break the very day if the people of India become united and patient, love their country and think of the well-being of their motherland, disregarding their self-interest. We also can show the same things that the Russian people have shown.'

The Great October Revolution coincided with the advent of Mahatma Gandhi on our national scene and the transformation of a moderate middle class activity into a mass movement which involved our rural and urban millions and unflinchingly adhered to the concept of equality. That our movement was wedded to non-violence in no way detracted it from its revolutionary nature. On the contrary, it enabled even the unarmed peasantry to participate in it fully. The great Lenin evinced keen interest in our fight and pointed out the crucial importance of India to the world struggle against colonialism. We, in turn, recognized the Soviet Union to an ally sensing the significance and scope of her policies.

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This mutual understanding became a matter of state policy for both countries when India became independent. Today, we are cooperating in many fields of endeavour—internationally, and bilaterally. In so doing, we are fulfilling the intention of the founding fathers of our two nations.

The peoples of Asia and Africa have found the Soviet Union to be a reliable friend and consistent supporter in their own struggle for national freedom, racial equality and technological development.... The Soviet Union has a huge geographical area and vast mineral resources but is conscious of the need to safeguard the future. India has a larger population, a smaller land surface and an old crushing burden of economic backwardness. We are, therefore, predisposed towards simplicity by choice as well as compulsion. It is an economic necessity and a moral value. Needless accretion of consumption articles can lead only to waste, pollution and interference with the balance of nature. To achieve a new harmony, we must try for an inner reconciliation of old insights and new perceptions. Much of the old is valuable. Much of the new could be ugly. Again we should listen to Lenin when he said : 'The beautiful must be preserved, taken as an example, as the point of departure even if it is old. Why turn our backs on what is truly beautiful, abandon it at the point of departure for further development solely because it is old ? Why worship the new as the good compelling submission merely because it is new ?'

Our aims are modest but the scale of efforts in a nation of our size has to be huge. Solutions are possible only in conditions of peace and international cooperation. War and war-like preparations obstruct development. Confrontation does not add to material well-being or emotional balance. Development is linked with disarmament. It is a tragic paradox that nations spend 75 times more, that is, 250 billion dollars on armament than on developmental assistance to weaker nations. The Soviet Union and India have cooperated for peace in the United Nations and other international forums and are working together to establish a more equitable economic order in the world. We wish success to the Soviet Union's efforts to promote disarmament.

Address to the USSR Academy of Sciences
at the Hall of Columns, House of Union,
Moscow, 10 June, 1976.

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We are not afraid of Pakistan ; we are not afraid of any other people either. But we do realise that the danger is not so much from Pakistan as it is from those forces who envisage confrontation on this sub-continent, or confrontation in Asia, to be in their interest. As I have said on a previous occasion, Asia is a continent which has given great richness to the world. It is to the exploitation of Africa and Asia that today the affluent countries owe their wealth and their riches and their industrial advance.

But we remain where we are. Why ? Because, we are caught up in past thinking. Somebody provokes us and we get provoked into saying : All right, let us fight amongst ourselves. We do not see that the third parties are taking advantage of us.

The time has come when Asia must wake up to its destiny, must wake up to the real needs of its people, must stop fighting amongst ourselves, no matter what our previous quarrels, no matter what the previous hatred and the bitterness. The time has come today when we must bury the past. We should see in what way we can make the people of Asia, who were rich not only in wealth, not only in talent, but in culture, in heritage, once more again . . . I don't say, past glory, because I don't believe in that kind of glory but certainly status in the world, where they can guide the destinies of the world, and also mould the future in order to make the world a fit place for man to live in.

This is the vision of the future which must guide us today. If we get entangled in petty quarrels then we have to say good-bye to such a future and we shall always be enmeshed in conflicts. That is why we must now look not to the past, but to the future. If we say, we must look to the past, how can we ask Pakistan not to look to the past ? We have to choose—either both look to the past or both say good-bye to the past ; let us try to build a new future. It is easier for us to say good-bye to the past ; because we have never preached hatred. At the worst of times, we have expressed our concern for the people of Pakistan, we have expressed our sorrows at their being deluded by their leaders, by their military dictatorship and so on. We have never preached hatred against Pakistan. So, for us it is a little easier, but in the case of Pakistan which has promoted a hate campaign, and which has attacked India so many times, is it realistic to expect a sudden wishing away of past attitude and adoption of the new ? It is not easy. These things do not come about by wishing or wanting. I think that President Bhutto is making a sincere effort to take his people towards a new future. Whether he will succeed or not, I do not know. But at least, he is making an effort, and I think that it is in our interest that his effort

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to turn the face of Pakistan from its past hatred and bitterness to a new future of peace and friendship is supported by us.

From a debate in the Lok Sabha on Statement on Agreement on Bilateral Relations between India and Pakistan, 31 July 1972.

With the Simla Agreement India is in a better position to face the future. In fact I would say that the Simla Agreement is in pursuance of the domestic and the international policy which India has followed all these years. Since Independence and even before Independence this is what the Congress Party has believed in. It believed even then in friendship with all countries. It believed even then in peace in the world and a cooperative endeavour to end the poverty and the misery of the underprivileged of the world. At a time when we had no strength in our hands or in our voices, we had no wealth, no armaments or anything, even at that time, we stood solidly by all those who were equally oppressed. We did not make the excuse that we had our own struggle and never could help the people of Africa, that we could not pay attention to what was happening in Asia. On the contrary we stated this even though we were poor, we were weak, but whatever we had, the strength of our voice, our moral support or whenever we can give more than moral support, that would be at the disposal of all those who were in similar situations. Whatever our relations with China today, India was the first and the only country which sent a medical team to China at that time. And in what conditions did this team live ? I saw some of the members when they left and I saw them on their return. I could not recognise them when they came back. They looked more like skeletons. This was because of lack of food and lack of sleep. They could have refused to stay in such conditions and said: "We cannot work." But they had gone to do a job and they did it. This was the spirit. This was the spirit of our policies and it is in this spirit that we act today also.

India's major enemy is not Pakistan, it is not even the big powers which are interested in their spheres of influence. India's greatest enemy is the economic backwardness of the country. It is the poverty of the country. If we did not have that heavy handicap, we could have done many things in the world. But, we have the handicap and nobody is going to help us to overcome it except we ourselves and we cannot overcome it unless we have peace. Therefore, peace is essential to our country and I believe that it is essential to Pakistan. I also believe that tension between the three countries of the sub-continent will always be a weakening factor and one which may be exploited by outside forces. So, the second question

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before us is this : Do we want interference by outside forces or do we want to settle our affairs ourselves however difficult they may be ? We have believed that we must settle differences amongst ourselves however complex they may be and a beginning in that direction has also been made.

We want the countries of Asia to stand together—not against Africa or Latin America. But when we can look after our own home first, only then can we be effective in a larger circle. From that point of view, what happens in Asia is our more immediate concern. But we are equally interested in the peaceful development and progress of the under-privileged and developing countries of Africa and Latin America. But we can play a greater role in Asia, and therefore, we must at least try to solve the quarrels and tensions of Asia as soon as we can.

We live in the present and we look to the future. It is only by looking towards the future that the present can be made livable. And to make it livable we must have peace. We must have a constructive and creative attitude. The Simla Agreement, with all its faults is a good step. There is no solution which does not create problems. This is part of life itself. There is no point in using the word perfect. Nothing in life is perfect unless you are willing to settle for something much less and call it perfect . . . My sights are rather higher . . . we believe that the Simla Agreement has taken us a step in the right direction. We are in a position to go further along that road.

From debate in Rajya Sabha on the Foreign Minister's statement on Simla Agreement, 2 August 1972.

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Bangladesh

Something new had happened in East Bengal—a democratic action where an entire people had spoken with almost one voice. We had welcomed this, not because we wanted to interfere in another country's affairs, but because those were the values...for which we have always stood and for which we have always spoken out. We had hoped that this action would lead to a new situation in our neighbouring country which would help us to get closer, which could help us to serve our own people better and create an entirely new situation in this sub-continent . . . this did not happen and a wonderful opportunity for even the strengthening of Pakistan has been lost and has been lost in a manner which is tragic, which is agonising and about which we cannot find strong enough words to speak. This again is a new situation but in a different way. It is not merely the suppression of a movement, but it is meeting an unarmed people with tanks.

Statement in Lok Sabha on developments
in East Bengal, 27 March 1971.

This House has considered many national and international issues of vital importance to our country. But none of them has touched us so deeply as the events in Bangladesh.

These twenty-three years and more, we have never tried to interfere with the internal affairs of Pakistan, even though they have not exercised similar restraint. And even now we do not seek to interfere in any way. But what has actually happened ? What was claimed to be an internal problem of Pakistan, has also become an internal problem for India. We are, therefore entitled to ask Pakistan to desist immediately from all activities which it is taking in the name of domestic jurisdiction, and which vitally affect the peace and well-being of millions of our own citizens. Pakistan cannot be allowed to seek a solution of its political or other problems at the expense of India and on Indian soil.

Has Pakistan the right to compel at bayonet-point not hundreds not hundreds of thousands, but millions of its citizens to flee their home ? For us it is an intolerable situation. The fact that we are compelled to give refuge and succour to these unfortunate millions cannot be used as an excuse to push more and more people across our border.

We are proud of our tradition of tolerance. We have always felt contrite and ashamed of our moments of intolerance. Our nation our people are dedicated to peace and are not given to talking in terms of war or

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threat of war. But I should like to caution our people that we may be called upon to bear still heavier burdens.

The problems which confront us are not confined to Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and West Bengal. They are national problems. Indeed the basic problem is an international one. Not only India but every country has to consider its interest --good neighbourliness and elementary principles of humanity....

Statement in Lok Sabha, 24 May 1971.

What is taking place there is not a civil war in the ordinary sense of the word; it is a genocidal punishment of civilians for having voted democratically. It is a strange and cynical way of getting rid of one's opponents and of deliberately using helpless millions as a weapon against a neighbour nation. The number of the refugees is equal to the population of some of the countries of Europe, such as Austria and Belgium....

We feel that this is a new kind of aggression. It certainly casts an unconscionable economic burden on us and has created political and social tensions endangering our security. This is not a purely internal matter of one country, because the overflow of the political,economic and security consequences are affecting another country, that is, India. This is not an international dispute, certainly not an Indo-Pakistan dispute, for the traditional international instruments to be invoked.

We are told that the confrontation of troops is a threat to peace. Is there no threat to peace when a whole people are massacred? Will the world be concerned only if people die because of war between two countries and not if hundreds of thousands are butchered and expelled by a military regime waging war against the people?

We cannot draw upon precedents to deal with this unprecedented variety of aggression. We have to devise new patterns of response.

I should like to plead with the world not to press me for a solution which leaves out the people of East Bengal. It is an illusion to think that the fate of a country can be decided without reference to its people. Once again, we see the old habit of underestimating the power of nationalism in Asia and of the demand of the people of Asia to make their own choice. Those who subscribe to the belief that democratically reached decisions are the most viable should recognise that the process of democracy admits no geographical disqualification. If democracy is good for you, it is good for us in India, and it is good for the people of East Bengal.

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The suppression of democracy is the original cause of all the trouble in Pakistan. The nations of the world should make up their minds who is more important to them, one man and his machine or a whole nation.

Press Meet at National Press Club, Washington,
5 November 1971.

We are today fighting because we believe that every nation has the right to freedom and to make its voice heard provided its demand is just. We are convinced that when people fight for freedom, justice and fraternity they are bound to be victorious.

We have no territorial ambitions, not even for an inchof another's territory. We do not want to harm any country, whether our neighbour or some other. We know that radical changes have come about in Bangladesh, and that the demand for freedom there could not be crushed by any power of the world. We are also aware that if we allow the fire that is burning within the hearts of the patriots to be put out, it might endanger our own freedom, our democracy and our basic principles. These are precisely the reasons why we are fighting today.

We believe that we are fighting today to strengthen our own freedom. There is a lot of opposition to us abroad, not because anybody is really worried about what has happened in Pakistan...but they are really worried that an oppressed nation of dark-skinned people is not prepared to toe their line. They are annoyed that we have dared to chalk out our own path and that we have dared to do what we know is just and right. We believe we are fighting not only for our own country, and our own principles, but for all those in the world who have been oppressed under foreign domination for centuries. These nations may not be aware, and may not realize how the down-trodden under foreign domination feel. We, however, know it, and we are also aware that if we do not fight today we shall in future meet the same fate as they do today. When India fought for freedom and regained it, our success inspired others to throw out their foreign rulers one after the other. The reasons why we are at war today are therefore deep and far-reaching. We are prepared to undergo any sacrifice to face the dangers which threaten us and to pursue the high ideals which are the basis of our national life.

And let me repeat, that, howsoever weak we may be our forces are not so strong as those of the other world powers, who can strike terror in Europe and we do not have the weapons they possess nor the resources of the industries to match them—the Indian spirit is indomitable—indomitable because we follow the path of truth and justice. We shall show the world that despite the opposition of all those forces, there is no power on earth

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which can bend us. But we have to remember that such an attitude colud be based only on firm courage and not on mere slogans. It is not an expression of courage to say that we shall destroy another nation or commit atrocities for no reason whatsoever. True courage implies firm adherence to principles, and we must all know what they are.

Speech at a Public Meeting at Ramlila Grounds,
Delhi, 12 December 1971.

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India and Africa

The Indian Government has consistently supported all freedom movements. We have kept in touch with them and we have tried to give whatever help was possible from us and we are glad that although not so long ago it did seem that things were not moving,yet today they are on the threshold of success.

We sincerely hope that the racist and fascist regimes in Africa will also have the foresight to realise that they cannot fight the inevitable much longer. Many peoples have been suppressed as also their desires, their aspirations, but we have found that the idea is stronger than any force and the idea of freedom is one such thing which gives tremendous strength to the weakest of people, and it becomes ultimately more powerful than weapons and military strength or any kind of repression. So, I have no doubt that the hardship, the sacrifices of the brave freedom fighters have brought them very near success and we ourselves have given our good wishes to them that this success may come very soon, thus adding to the strength of the developing nations and enabling us to help them to develop and to progress.

We have shared a great deal of our developing industrial know-how and research and training facilities with our neighbours in Asia and Africa. This covers many fields including engineering, metallurgy, nuclear energy, medicine and agriculture. We shall always be willing to use our own knowledge and development to help our neighbours and our friends wherever they may be.

India stands irrevocably committed to peaceful co-existence, non-alignment and international cooperation. I hope that there will be greater cooperation within regions and between regions, as between Africa and Asia, to strengthen the international foundations for peace.

Once again, I should like to send my greetings to all people of Africa but specially to those who are still in the midst of a hard struggle for freedom. Our thoughts are with them and our good wishes are with them and we have no doubt that they will succeed and in their success lies our success. Let us all help them as much as we can, in every way we can, now, before they have won their freedom and afterwards when they have won it also to stand on their feet, to become strong so that together the developing nations can gain in strength and make their voice heard so that the justice that was so long denied can at last be attained, not just for ourselves but to enable us to work together for a much better world.

At the Africa Day Celebrations,
New Delhi, 25 May 1974.

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It is exciting to be back on the mainland of Africa when the final battle is about to be joined. There can be no doubt as to its outcome. What we are concerned with is that the travail should not be unduly prolonged. Let me reiterate India's solidarity with the freedom fighters of Africa.

The relationship between Africa and India goes back to ancient times. The life and work of Mahatma Gandhi in the last decade of the last century and the first 15 years of this century are a further link in the common destinies of our two continents. In our own generation, we have both fought against colonialism. Today, our countries are striving to build new societies composed of diverse strands.

Apart from the similarity in the social, economic and political problems which our two countries face and the correspondence in our endeavour to modernize and transform our societies, we share a common world view. We are striving to promote international understanding and cooperation and to reduce conflict and confrontation. We steer our course by the star of non-alignment and our destination is peace and concord.

A great deal of what we, the non-aligned, forecast has come to pass. Today there are more contacts between members of opposing blocs, some limited agreements in economic and technological cooperation and resolution of some political conflicts. But the age of confrontation has by no means ended.

Military presences are being extended and camp-followers and clients sought. We, who live along the Indian Ocean, are especially perturbed at the intrusion of friction and dangers into our area. In Asia and in Africa, tensions are being provoked which will imperil peace. The motivation of the actions of several governments is not for the good of people of these areas but the presumed advantages to themselves and their global strategies.

We, in India, are resolved to resist pressures and continue to play our part in reducing conflict while supporting the cause of freedom and equality.

The African people are yet to achieve ultimate victory in their struggle. Zimbabwe and Namibia are in the midst of crises. The attainment of freedom and self-determination for the African majority can brook no obstacles. The question is one of time and manner. Now it seems to be a matter of months, not years.

The coming years in Africa, and particularly in Southern Africa, will be burdened with this agonising death struggle of neo-colonialism. Tanzania, because of its vicinity and also its steadfast stand on principles, will bear some of the brunt. But the fight for the rights of South Africans has to be waged not merely in Africa but all over the world, in the United Nations and outside. We, in India, stand solidly with you on these issues.

Less dramatic than this political problem, but one that deeply concerns the future of all of us—the poorer three-fourths of the world – is the ques-

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tion of economic inequality between nations. Here again, Tanzania and India have cooperated with each other over the last several years. The Economic Declaration recently passed in Colombo must become a manifesto for diplomatic action in the United Nations and its various specialized agencies. We must strive to create new international institutions and reform existing ones. We do not ask the affluent for sacrifices, nor do we wish to adopt their levels of conspicuous consumption. We do believe in greater equality in the use of world resources. All that we need for our people is a certain minimum standard of living which will ensure them their personal wants and individual dignity.

Banquet Speech at Dar-es-Salaam,
Tanzania, 11 October 1976.

At the Non-aligned Summit...six years ago, I spoke of the unfinished revolution of our times and of the heartbeat of Africa. Today, these heartbeats resound like drum-beats. It is no distant thunder ; the drums are beating on your very doorstep. The whole world hears them. All peoples who have fought for freedom or care for it, identify themselves with the people of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. Another chapter of the unfinished revolution is about to be written.

...a brave struggle in Zimbabwe and Namibia is nearing success. In the last decade, these people have shown themselves to be proud and indomitable fighters. They have distinguished leaders, inspired by high ideals. We are confident that the political leaders and parties, and the soldiers in the field, will forge a united front in each country so that transition to total independence is as short and as smooth as possible.. As a front line country, Zambia has had to suffer greatly in human, economic and material terms because of the actions of neighbouring regimes. People who have invariably taken the side of racialism now declare their support for the democratic concept of majority rule in Southern Africa. The coming weeks will test their earnestness.

We, the poorer countries of the world, have a battle to win—the battle against minority dominance over the world economic resources. We seek no confrontation with the rich, but it is imperative for us to build our economic strength so as to reduce our vulnerability to pressures, and also to increase cooperation and the sharing of skills and resources among the developing countries.

Sharing the same view of the world, Zambia and India must continue to work together in the United Nations, in the Non-aligned Movement, in the Commonwealth and elsewhere for regional and global peace, for regional and global disarmament. It is tragic that *detente* which aroused so many

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hopes has not led to any reduction in arms expenditure on the part of the leading nations. The great arms manufacturers continue to prosper by the production of ever costlier and deadlier weapons. The arms race gets wilder and more irrational. Countries which were hitherto not involved in arms build-up are now entering the race and diverting their new wealth into this unproductive channel. While the hungry call for bread and the newly awakened for education, while millions are without shelter, certain sorely needed resources are not devoted to development but earmarked for destruction. The extension of conflict to the Indian Ocean and the establishment of bases are unacceptable to the littoral states.

In the midst of such distrust and antagonism let us be glad that no bilateral problems complicate the relations between Zambia and India. We hold each other in esteem, share similar ideas and have developed a tradition of constructive cooperation. We are gratified that Indian personnel have been of some use in your plans to build your economy. There is a great scope for further increasing commercial and technological cooperation between us.

Our countries and continents should be able to evolve new and attractive patterns of contemporary living in which the best of older values are reconciled with the most desirable of the new. By humanizing industrialism, we could perhaps redress the consequences of imperialism and even correct the bias in technology itself.

Banquet Speech at Lusaka,
Zambia, 16 October 1976.

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Non-Alignment

In a fast-changing world, peaceful co-existence is now more important than ever. And non-alignment has a positive role to play despite the breakdown of old alignments and the emergence of newer patterns of poly-centric power. Non-alignment can harmonise the tensions which grow out of changing alignments. Its existence permits and eases departures from the conformity of ideological power groups. It lends support to independent nationalisms against external pressures. Its practice is consistent with friendship for all.

Broadcast over All India Radio,
7 July 1966.

The "revolution" of our times is unfinished, and the purpose of this conference is to draw up a clear programme of action to carry it forward. This is the challenge that the decade of the seventies places before the non-aligned countries.

Only a short while ago, the issues of war and peace, of the disposal of human beings and their destinies, were decided in a few capitals of the world. No longer is it so because millions of people in the resurgent continents of Asia, of Africa, of Latin America and the Caribbeans, have come into their own. Because we determined that decisions involving us—whether concerning war and peace, or the direction and pace of our social, economic and political development, could be made only by us, in our own way, and in our own countries. That is how non-alignment was born. It expressed our individual and collective sovereignty, our devotion to freedom and peace, and our urgent need to give to our people a better life and the opportunity to live in freedom, in dignity and in peace. At no time was there any intention to set up a third world.

This is our endeavour. The odds are tremendous. Each step has met with criticism and opposition. But we have carried on.

Have the non-aligned States lost their relevance ? The answer is an emphatic no. Twenty-five years after the last holocaust, the world is not yet on the brink of peace. The nuclear balance of terror still confronts us. The war in Vietnam is said to be waged with "conventional" weapons, yet these include chemical contamination of food and plant life. The only way to have a clean war is not to have a war at all. Hence India stands and works for total disarmament.

The Great Powers certainly have the major responsibility for international peace and security. We welcome all initiative towards the resolution of

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differences through negotiations, but even if they reach accord on their common interests, and decide upon mutually acceptable limitation of strategic arsenals, the rest of the world, of which we form a considerable part, could hardly remain mere onlookers. We have an equal stake in peace, but the quality of peace should be such as will ensure our own sovereignty and security.

Not only national honour but national interest demand that we do not mortgage our decisions in domestic and in international affairs to foreign dictates. This was one element of our policy of non-alignment. As the logical corollary, we rejected the enmities of our erstwhile rulers. As my father declared : 'We are in no camp and in no military alliance. The only camp we should like to be in is the camp of peace which should include as many countries as possible.'

Today's world is a single entity. We are deeply convinced that by staying out of military pacts, the non-aligned countries can use their collective wisdom and influence to tip the balance of power in favour of peace and international cooperation.

These have been the positive achievements of non-alignment. If today belief in the efficacy of military pacts has weakened, if historic animosities are giving way to essays in friendship and cooperation, if a breath of realism is influencing international policies towards *detente*, the nations assembled here can claim some credit. However, this should not lull us into complacency.

The big powers have never accepted the validity of non-alignment. Neither colonialism, nor racialism has vanished. The old comes back in new guise. There are subtle intrigues to undermine our self-confidence and to sow dissensions and mutual distrust amongst us. Powerful vested interests, domestic and foreign, are combining to erect new structures of neo-colonialism. These dangers can be combatted by our being united in our adherence to the basic tenets of non-alignment.

The spirit of freedom goes hand in hand with the spirit of equality. Beyond the political problems of the "unfinished revolution," there are complex and difficult economic tasks. However, a realistic appraisal of our natural resources, our capacities and our competence reveal the possibility of our working together to reduce our dependence on those who do not respect our sovereignty so that economic leverage for thinly disguised political purposes cannot be used against us. Neo-colonialism has no sympathy with our efforts to achieve self-reliance. It seeks to perpetuate our position of disadvantage. International markets are so manipulated that primary-producing-countries have a permanent handicap. The levers of technology also are operated against us through unequal collaboration and royalty agreements.

Hence, we have to redouble our effort to gain for each nation the opportunity to develop to its full stature. The primary responsibility rests upon

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each developing country, but we also owe a duty to one another. The fallacy that there is no complementality between our economies has so far made it difficult to realise the undoubted potential of mutual cooperation. There is greater complementality amongst our economies than between the economies of developed nations Yet, advanced nations have been more successful in forming instruments of cooperation amongst themselves and our own effort in this direction has not even begun. The potential of trade and economic cooperation amongst us has been left virtually unexplored. By meeting each other's needs, we would diversify our trade, safeguard it against the caprices of international commerce, and reduce our dependence on middle-men and brokers.

This conference should formulate the manner in which we would strengthen one another and give due priority in our national policies to positive measures for mutual cooperation. Such cooperation will help each of us to find some solutions to our respective problems, and also give us the capability to induce these changes in the economic system at global level.

We all recognise the malaise afflicting the development process. We know of the growing gap between developed and developing countries, between the northern and southern hemispheres, of the indifference of the affluent, the disappointments of the First Development Decade, and the failure of the affluent countries to transfer even one per cent of their gross national product. We are painfully familiar with the pitfalls of "aid", in which the bulk of credits are tied to purchases from donor countries, and with the fact that a big portion of new credit goes to the repayment of old loans. But the question is : Must we endlessly wait in the hope that some day the developed countries will undergo a change of heart and acknowledge that disparities in the world are not in their own interest ? It would be unrealistic to expect miracles of magnanimity. Even if this should happen, I am afraid that it would be of no avail, in the absence of the right conditions in our own countries. We must determine to help ourselves, to sacrifice, to pool our resources of knowledge and initiative. We must work together on a bilateral, regional and multilateral basis.

The "unfinished revolution" can reach fulfilment if we have faith and confidence in ourselves and the assurance that, however long and arduous the journey ahead, we shall reach our destination.

Speech at the Non-aligned Summit Conference
Lusaka, 9 September 1970.

Why have we, the heads of nearly 80 governments, gathered here, travelling long distances in spite of urgent domestic preoccupations ? Is it to perform a mere ritual or to renew a dying faith by an act of congregation?

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The answer is firmly in the negative. We are here because of our convictions and in response to the inspiration which initially brought us together and which is still valid in the contemporary world. We have a part to play in the remaking of the world. Non-alignment was born as an assertion of our will to be sovereign and not be mere objects of imperial history. It came into being after the travails of World War II when the world appeared to be rent as under irrevocably. We said then that these divisions were inconsistent with the real interests of the masses who had just emerged from the long night of imperial exploitation. It was a deliberate, though difficult, attempt to lower tensions and tempers at a time when these were considered the accoutrements of strength. It was a principled contribution to peace. Non-alignment has not lost any of its relevance though the rigid attitudes of the cold war have softened.

We often hear the phrase the "third world." Is this not a product of the unconscious desire of the small, affluent section of humanity to continue as oases of prosperity in the midst of vast waste lands of want? Surely, our world is too small to be further fragmented. Mankind will survive together in hope and faith or give way to despair and destruction.

Three years ago, I had suggested that we should direct our labour to carry forward the "unfinished revolution" of our times. One aspect of this revolution is the political liberation of the peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Carribbeans. Another is the endeavour to overcome the economic, technological and intellectual consequences of colonialism. But in reality and when seen in full historical perspective, the revolution is much larger in its scope, ever unfolding new dimensions. The story of man is the story of his progressive emergence into freedom in this social relationship, in his attitude to authority and in his economic dealings. If science is the means of acquiring power, the end should be the use of power for the good of man. The "unfinished revolution" must, therefore, continue until freedom is assured to all, until inequalities amongst nations and within them are narrowed and until the power at the disposal of nations is tamed through institutions in which all peoples can participate.

At present, we are unsure of ourselves and groping our way. Economic difficulties, political tensions and the uncertainity of the future bring many problems to the surface. Some groups adopt aggressive and chauvinistic attitudes seeing them as substitutes for strength. We can be strong and can assert our own personalities only by following the right policies and by a mature combination of the old wisdom with new insights in order to evolve distinctive patterns of social organisation, notably in administration, legal processes and education in its widest sense.

Political and economic interests, domestic as well as international, have proved to be formidable obstacles. As the economic struggle becomes more acute, the long-suppressed voices of people sharpen; but with every step forward, the resistance of entrenched groups, often aligned with fore-

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ign interests, especially the faceless multinational corporations, becomes more vehement, unscrupulous and, at the same time, more subtle and even insidious, for it is no longer overt but indirectly subversive and provocative. In India, we see these constraints in operation every day. Perhaps this is also the experience of other developing countries. Hence, the removal of poverty depends not merely on capital accumulation, important as it is, but on the generation of conscious political forces, to overcome these constraints.

The time has come for a reassessment, not only to avoid the problems created by industrialization in other countries, but more positively to clarify our own goals. For us the question of disparities and inequalities is not academic but one which affects our future, even our survival. The aim of our socio-economic transformation is not merely to augment the gross national product or to build consumer societies, but to balance growth, social justice and the inculcation of cultural values which are inspired by perception and compassion.

Economic and social development cannot just be a domestic effort for any of us. It has to be a major international concern. We, the Non-aligned believe that the fight against poverty demands cooperation in which resources and technology are shared among nations. We are all familiar with the political fluctuations of "aid"—with unfulfilled expectations and aid-weariness.

The rich today have become more preoccupied with themselves and alarmed that the new phenomena of planetary pollution and the shrinking of mineral and fuel resources are shaking the very foundations of their affluence. Although the compulsions of international cooperation demand a revision of old ideas and policies, yet they cling on. Even at the Lusaka Conference we had noted signs of a weakening of the will in the protagonists of cold war and their realisation that confrontation was not yielding the results they had expected. Now, rigid attitudes have given way to a new era of polycentrism, and *detente* has begun.

However, side by side with these favourable developments, there continue to exist areas of instability and conflict, of repression and injustice, of domination and discrimination. Attempts to order the world in the interests of a few countries have not been wholly abandoned. Nuclear stockpiles are increasing. So is the acquisition of conventional armaments, although there is some limitation of strategic weapons because of economic compulsions. We read horrifying reports of experiments in chemical and biological warfare. External interference, coercion and the occupation of the lands of others continue. The deliberate induction of armaments in the name of promoting regional balances and the arming of small nations beyond the limits that can be sustained by their own socio-economic structure, all these threaten peace.

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The total elimination of nuclear weapons and complete disarmament alone can lead to genuine peace. Such disarmament calls for far greater courage and conviction than is now in evidence.

Once we were termed rebels. I invoke the spirit of rebellion against all assumptions of superiority, against all attempts to dominate or dictate. At the same time, I invoke the spirit of a wider responsibility. We must speak for those whose numbers are large but whose voice is mute. Their claim to a just share of worldly goods, their right to a life of dignity is indisputable and cannot be resisted. The past will inspire us, but it is the needs of the present and the challenge of the future which are the driving force for our united action. We are responsible not to our individual countries alone, but to the peace and prosperity of the whole world. Let this bind us anew to the ideal of active non-alignment. Let this be the message of Algiers. Like all enduring ideas it is old yet ever timely and new.

Address to the Plenary Session of the Fourth Summit
Conference of the Non-aligned Countries,
Algiers, 6 September 1973.

In a fast changing world, non-alignment remains the bulwark of an ever widening area of peace, a shield against external pressures and a catalyst of a New World Economic Order based on equality and justice. It promotes and hastens change, itself remaining unchanged. We represent nations which, amidst their colourful diversity, are united in their unvarying search for freedom, equality, peace and stability, for their own peoples and for all the world. Non-alignment is the courage of true independence.

The concept of Non-alignment was shaped in the long years of our national struggle, much before the cold war developed and blocs were formed. The cold war has ended, but has its legacy ? Colonial rule has almost gone, but have its consequences ? Many of our nations remain politically vulnerable to external pressures. The effort to undermine the power of nationalism and political cohesion, to discredit and remove leaders and governments who symbolise independent thinking and self-reliance, and to install more pliable individuals and parties, is unabated. Economic exploitation persists in old and new garbs. So do the technological disparities and psychological complexes bred by colonialism. Instead of diminishing, military presence is being extended and theories of imagined power vacuums are mooted to justify such action. All countries around the Indian Ocean, which wish this area to be a zone of peace, are perturbed by the establishment of bases and intrusion of rivalries. The aim of the Non-aligned Movement is to reinforce the strength of each of our nations to measure up to challenges. At the same time, we stand for

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responsive cooperation. We are neither a bloc nor a third world, but a part of this our only world.

The era of the cold war proved the soundness of non-alignment as perhaps the only practical policy for the preservation of the newly-won independence of many countries. To us, the choice between one military bloc or another seemed irrelevant and unreal. Our choice was between independence and dependence, between progressing through cooperation or perishing through confrontation. That most states which achieved independence have joined the non-aligned family is a vindication of the conceptual validity of non-alignment . . . . If today the Non-aligned do constitute a force, albeit a moral one, it is because we represent a major dynamic of history. We stand for the inherent right of every nation, no matter how weak, to exist and progress in spite of notions of ideological conformity or the inevitability of war so compellingly propagated by the strong. We represent the spirit of cooperation. And our assessment has been proven more correct than the analyses of those who try to enforce their own ideological obsessions. Non-alignment, with its politico-economic basis, has a more powerful appeal.

Unity amongst ourselves is essential for our movement to retain its utility. A united Non-aligned group will make an impact on world peace and on the evolution of a new economic order for the millions of poor. A New International Economic Order can be realized only with a cohesive political driving force which recognises diversity, but looks at the situation beyond the mere technical solution of problems of trade, finance and raw materials. Unity will benefit our own countries as well as nations and peoples everywhere. In the absence of a united front, our voices will go unheard and unheeded. Therefore, our summit should preserve the integrity of our movement and show courage and determination in consolidating our unity through closer coordination and cooperation.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the rallying cry of the deprived peoples was independence. Today it should be self-reliance. As we seek a rightful place for ourselves in the contemporary world and are occupied in building our economies with the help of new knowledge, our development is impeded by the disparities and frustrations of the old order. Our people are not, nor can we expect them to be, tolerant of the present *status quo* of dependence and inequality. The world must evolve a new equilibrium of equitable inter-dependence in which the political independence and economic self-reliance of the weakest and smallest nations are fully protected. It implies the creation of a degree of mutual dependence which is of mutual benefit without loss of identity or sovereignty.

The response of the advanced countries to the compulsions of a new world economic order has so far been apathetic. Patchwork remedies are no substitute for genuine reform. We need a global perspective plan which will relate resources to human needs and provide a system of early

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warnings of imbalances and disasters. Improved terms of trade and credit, easier access to markets and better value for raw materials and industrial goods are all essential to secure greater equity in the distribution of benefits. Cooperation between and among our fraternity will enhance our strength in the dialogue with the economically stronger.

Let non-alignment give a lead in true independence, in new ideals for a harmonious world society, in a new concept of human emancipation and in new designs for national progress. Years ago, Jawaharlal Nehru said, 'The door is open and destiny beckons us all. There is no question of who wins and who loses, for we have to go forward and together as comrades and either all of us win or we all go down together, but there is going to be no failure. We go forward to success.'

Address at the Non-aligned Summit Conference,
Colombo, Sri Lanka, 17 August, 1976.

Ours is an unusual association. We are not brought together by power nor by the urge to exploit and profit from others. We threaten none, in fact we want to save the world from threats. We seek no domination. We shall brook no domination.

Within our own Movement all are equal. We are partners. Amongst us there are no leaders and followers. The idea of leadership has caused enough harm. The desire to dominate has been and is the root cause of the world's ills. As a great saint of our land, Guru Nanak Dev, the founder of the Sikh religion, declared almost 500 years ago, 'all men are born to be free.' So are all nations. But economic avarice, military might and technological advantages have enslaved many peoples. After a long night of colonial subjection came the dawn of freedom. But the shadows of the economic and technological consequences of past serfdom haunt us.

It is ironic that lands of ancient culture which were among the first to develop agriculture and industry, should today be regarded as "developing." Technologically we may be developing. Militarily we may be weak. But our spirit of independence is developed and assertive. We are indomitable in defence of our causes and in our will to be treated with equal respect and to share the gains as well as responsibilities of international affairs, political and economic.

We can achieve our objective through the discipline of unity. These aims are not for ourselves alone but for all mankind. The peace, for which we labour, is of benefit to the blocs and even those who may distrust it. Words such as weak and strong are relative. Qualities are rarely pure and are more likely to have various shades. Frailty can have its own strength and the strong can be victims of their own power. Today the affluent and

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mighty are no more immune to economic difficulties than we are. Their economic health will be aided by their encouraging the revival of our economies. The world is a single network. If you think of it as electrical, none can escape its fluctuations and if there is a blow-out, the darkness will shroud all.

The most awesome is the common peril to the survival of the human species, for we know that even if we could stay uninvolved in a nuclear war, the radioactive fall-out would respect no frontiers, and neither the combatants nor the non-aligned would escape its dire consequences. The advent of the nuclear weapon and the inventions of other monstrous devices cannot but arouse the most fearful apprehensions and bind us more securely to the cause of peace.

Security does not lie in trying to attain military superiority, which because of its transient nature inevitably provokes an endless race in weapons. Nor is nuclear deterrence a stable basis for the maintenance of security, because the psychology of fear works as a doubtful deterrent. The likelihood of nuclear war springs from all the hazards which are innate in the vast stockpiles of nuclear arms, their delivery systems, their continuous refinement, the increasing spread and accuracy of their delivery, and in the bizarre doctrines pertaining to their use.

Never before have a few nations, in confrontation with one another, posed the general danger of the annihilation of the human and other species through the use of the very weapons they claim to need for their security. It is the clear moral obligation of all nations to avert this unprecedented common peril, but naturally those who possess nuclear weapons have a greater responsibility. Our call may not be heeded now but we must persist. Good causes and high ideals cannot be long kept down. They must prevail.

As Chairperson of the Seventh Non-Aligned Summit,
New Delhi, 7 March, 1983.

The Non-Aligned Movement is not a mere or casual collection of individual states. It is a vital historical process. It is a comingling of many historical, spiritual and cultural streams. It is the expression of the aspirations of the long-deprived and the newly free. It is an assertion of humankind's will to survive despite oppression, despite the growing arms race and ideological divisions . . . . Our Movement has a framework, it has developed principles. More important it is not dogmatic but dynamic. It is a major Movement attempting basic changes. By asserting the right of self-determination, our Movement enfranchised more than half the world which was under colonial subjection. We continue to fight for the rest.

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We challenge the doctrine and practice of racism. We now strive to enforce the right to economic equality. The sights of our Movement are set not merely on short term and limited benefits but on broader principles to transform the political and economic organization of the world. Non-Alignment embodies the courage and strength of self-reliance. Alignment denotes dependence. That is why something akin to the non-aligned outlook is spreading noticeably even among peoples of aligned countries.

Concluding Speech at the Seventh Non-Aligned Summit,
New Delhi, 12 March 1983.

At the first Summit of the Non-Aligned held in Belgrade under President Tito's chairmanship, Jawaharlal Nehru said : 'The power of nations assembled here is not military power or economic. Nonetheless, it is power.' This vital idea offers some hope of the possibility of governments being weaned away from their fixation about military power and its variants. Small nations have dramatically demonstrated that military power cannot long prevail over the spirit of a people. It is the prerogative of the Non-Aligned Movement to urge the acceptance of this reality. Non-Alignment avoids the extremes of cynical *realpolitik* and over-simple idealism – both of which have led to disastrous consequences. The Non-Aligned views does not deny the reality of power in international politics but it seeks to regulate it and redefine it more appropriately to our age, and to divert it into channels of cooperation rather than confrontation.

Embattled alliances and the balancing of power were not working even in the pre-nuclear age. That approach has been rendered untenable by advances in technology, but governments refuse to take a broader view and still base their nuclear programme on outdated political assumptions, such as first strike capacity and limited and winnable nuclear wars. Nuclear weapons States have accumulated stockpiles of armaments for which there are targets enough. Their overkill capacity makes notions of parity, deterrence and superiority irrelevant.

A viable way out of this dilemma is the programme suggested at the Special Session on Disarmament and reiterated at the recent Non-Aligned Summit. We urge all nuclear-weapons States to summon the political will not to use nuclear weapons in any circumstances.

Address to the Federal Assembly of Yugoslavia
at Belgrade, 9 June 1983.

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At a political level this is an important step in the development of mutual relations in our region. We seven who are gathered here are close geographical neighbours. The same monsoon governs our lives. We share experiences, aspirations, challenges. Our region is the cradle of one of the earliest human civilizations. In more recent centuries we have suffered from the political and economic consequences of colonialism. The very process of liberating our peoples from external rule has renewed awareness of one another's needs and potentialities. Today our major task is to overcome economic backwardness. As members of the Non-Aligned Movement, we seek peace with development among ourselves and in the world as a whole.

Although there are similarities, we are different. Each country has its individual personality, distinctive perception and a different political system. Subscribing to non-alignment, we respect the right of every country to choose and follow its own form of government without interference from others. At the same time, we recognise the duty to resolve whatever differences there might be through discussion and in a spirit of goodwill.

India is big in size and that means that the proportion of our problems and difficulties is also gigantic. We don't want to take on more problems. Our policy is not to interfere in the affairs of others. But ours is a troubled region. Most of our countries are multi-racial and multi-religious. It would be idle to pretend that we are not affected by what happens elsewhere. Even as we meet, there are disturbing and tragic developments in our neighbourhood.

We have always believed in cooperation and as world events unfold we find that cooperation in solving problems is becoming more necessary and vital to each of us and, I believe, to our region.

The world can survive and progress only with a strong sense of the unity of humankind and tolerance of the right to political diversity. Within this framework we seven must conduct our affairs so as to eliminate tensions and promote greater peace and stability in the region. The regional grouping that brings us together is not aimed against anyone else. Nor are we moved by any ideological or military considerations. Our cooperation in no way limits each country's freedom of judgement. It is allied solely to development and to the strengthenging of the economies of our individual countries. Our hope is to work together and to share our experiences in agriculture, rural development, telecommunications, meteorology, health, technology, culture, art and sport.

There are complementarities between our economies. With better planning and greater exchange of information, we could make the optimum use of our capacities.

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Confrontation is dangerous and unprofitable. All the historical, technological and economic forces and factors at work in the world demand cooperation. The threat of nuclear war must be averted. Its consequences are too horrendous to contemplate. We have always spoken out against violence and destruction. These must be curbed. Simultaneously the world must do something to shake free from the grip of the economic crisis which hurts all countries rich and poor, big and small. But the worst sufferers, as each of us knows, are the developing countries.

Enduring solutions call for the strengthening of our own economies towards self-reliance. This does not preclude international cooperation. The two are mutually supportive. Hence, along with a North-South dialogue, we urge greater cooperation among the developing countries. South-South cooperation is an integral part of the New International Economic Order that we envisage.

Experience in other parts of the world has shown that sub-regional and regional cooperation is an important factor in bringing about economic and social progress. The countries of South Asia have been rather slow in realising this. I am glad that we are making a beginning We had our political differences in the past or have even now, but economic cooperation will give a strong impetus to closer friendship and greater stability in South Asia.

As regional cooperation progresses, new tasks will unfold themselves, bringing in new problems. Let us not be daunted. Our very cooperation will increase our capacity to withstand pressures. With unity we can hope to move ahead to a future of freedom, peace and prosperity.

Inaugural Address at the South Asian Regional
Cooperation Meeting of Foreign Ministers,
New Delhi, 1 August 1983.

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Disarmament, Development and Peace

Only 35 years ago most of our peoples were under foreign thrall, with no say in their own affairs. With Independence from colonialism, non-alignment came into being. And anti-imperialism still conditions our outlook. We cannot risk any shadow on our freedom of judgement and action. We have no quarrel with any group of nations. But we speak out against injustice.

Other governments may have conflicting opinions on right and wrong. We the non-aligned have chosen peace, which surely is the right and inevitable choice. We have sought and continue to seek friendship with all, except governments which are racist or threaten the hard-earned freedom of others. Non-alignment is not vague, not negative, not neutral.

Non-alignment is national independence and freedom. It stands for peace and the avoidance of confrontation. It aims at keeping away from military alliances. It means equality among nations and the democratization of international relations, economic and political. It wants global cooperation for development on the basis of mutual benefit. It is a strategy for the recognition and preservation of the world's diversity.

Humankind is balancing on the brink of the collapse of the world economic system and annihilation through nuclear war. Should these tragedies occur, can anyone of us, large, small, rich or poor, from North or South, West or East, hope to escape ? Let us analyse the economic crisis. We of the developing world have no margin of safety. We shall be the first and worst sufferers in any economic breakdown. In this interdependent world, where you cannot 'stir a flower without troubling a star', even the most affluent are not immune to such disturbances.

In spite of Ottawa, Cancun and Versailles, the dialogue between the developed and developing has not even begun. Only a few in the North realize that the sustained social and economic development of the South is in its own interest. Thus, we ask not for charity or philanthropy but sound economic sense. Such cooperation between North and South will be of mutual benefit.

The Non-Aligned Movement has stood firmly for a thorough-going restructuring of international economic relations. We are against exploitation. We are for each nation's right to its resources and policies. We want an equal voice in the operation of international institutions. We reiterate our commitment to the establishment of a New International Economic Order based on justice and equality.

Long range solutions need time and preparations. Immediate problems brook no delay. Some countries are more critically affected than others. Some are in desperate straits. They cannot wait for action by the world community as a whole. Our Movement has an obligation to them and

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this is not beyond the human resources, technological skills, industrial capacities, even the finances that we now possess. Self-reliance should start with the weakest amongst us, and assistance be aimed at self-development.

Development, Independence, Disarmament and Peace are closely related. Can there be peace alongside nuclear weapons ? Without peace, my father said all our dreams of development turn to ashes. It has been pointed out that global military expenditure is twenty times the total official development assistance. Each day, each hour, the size and lethality of nuclear weapons increase. A nuclear aircraft carrier costs $ 4 billion, which is more than the GNP of 53 countries. The hood of the cobra is spread. Humankind watches in frozen fear, hoping against hope that it will not strike. Never before has the Earth faced so much death and danger.

The destructive power contained in nuclear stockpiles can kill human life, indeed all life, many times over and might well prevent its reappearance for ages to come. Terrifying is the vividness of such descriptions by scientists. Yet some statesmen and strategists act as though there is not much difference between these and earlier artillery pieces. The arms race continues, because of the pursuit of power and desire for one upmanship, and also because many industries and interests flourish on it. More recently the notion has been propagated that tactical nuclear weapons are usable in "limited wars." Powerful states propagate the untenable doctrine of deterrence. New areas are being brought into the scope of strategic groupings, military blocs and alliances. New bases and facilities are being established. That is why our responses must be surer, swifter and sharper.

The desire for peace is universal even within countries which themselves produce nuclear weapons and in those where they are deployed. The Non-Aligned Movement is history's biggest peace movement. It welcomes these spontaneous upsurges of peoples. But governments persist in propounding, practising and pursuing the selfsame strategic interests, spheres of influence, balance of power, and tutelary relations reminiscent of the earlier theory of divine right.

Our plans for a better life for each of our peoples depends on world peace and the reversal of the arms race. Only general and complete disarmament can provide credible security. Negotiations confined to a close circle of nuclear-weapon powers have made little progress. We are non-nuclear states, who want nuclear energy used only for peace. But we too have a right to live and be heard. In the name of humanity and on behalf of us all, I call upon nuclear-weapons powers to give up the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons in any circumstances ; suspend all nuclear weapons' tests and the production and deployment of nuclear weapons ;

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and resume disarmament negotiations with determination to reach agreement.

The eyes of the world are upon us. People in India and in all our countries have high expectations from our deliberations. Let us decide here :

— to demand more purposeful steps to carry forward the democratization of the international system and to usher in a New International Economic Order.

— to call for an International Conference on Money and Finance for Development, which will devise methods to mobilize finance for investments in the critical areas of food, energy and industrial development ; and

— to reassert our commitment to collective self-reliance.

Above all, let us proclaim anew our belief that Independence, Development, Disarmament and Peace are indivisible and reaffirm our unceasing faith in the Five Principles which are the foundations of Non-Alignment, namely, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence. Let us reiterate our support for the heroic Palestinians and Namibians and to all the victims of the aggressive acts of Isreal and South Africa and commit ourselves to the strengthening of the United Nations and designate 1985 for that purpose.

Inaugural Speech at the Seventh Non-Aligned Conference
of Heads of States, New Delhi, 7 March 1983.

I am here on a quest of peace and cooperation. I have the privilege of addressing you not only on behalf of the people of India, one of the founder-members of the United Nations, but also on behalf of 100 other members of the Non-Aligned Movement. These nations...renewed their pledge to work for a world which would not be riven by distrust and hatred, and for a truly international community where nations would grasp hands of friendship across geographical frontiers.

For the last twenty years, the non-aligned have customarily met once in three years and the Chairperson has reported to the United Nations. Firm faith in the United Nations is central to the non-aligned. All members of the Non-Aligned Movement are members, current or potential, of the United Nations. However, the UN is an institution ; the Non-Aligned group a movement. The United Nations is or ought to be, a forum for solving disputes ; NAM eschews discussion of bilateral problems. But the aim is the same to maintain peace by removing the sources of tension, and to bring out the humanity in human beings.

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At the New Delhi Conference we adopted a comprehensive statement on the economic and political state of the world. Our views were summed up in what has now come to be called the New Delhi Message. The final paragraph says :

> The crisis which confronts our civilization today is unprecedented in history. Great tasks call for wise decisions. We appeal to the great powers to give up mistrust, engage in sincere, forward-looking negotiations in a spirit of shared good faith to reach agreement on various disarmament measures and to find a way out of the deepening economic crisis which threatens all of us. Unitedly the members of the Non-Aligned Movement are prepared to do everything in their power to assist in this process. The earth belongs to us all. Let us cherish it in peace and true brotherhood, based on the dignity and equality of man.

When the non-aligned plead with the aligned to give up confrontation and conflict, it is not out of any presumption. We are aware of our own weaknesses, of the unnecessary discords and disputes between ourselves. But being militarily weak, we do not have to find justification for strength. Being familiar with pain and suffering, we do not want them to increase anywhere. Our plea for peace is not out of superior virtue but because peace is indispensable, because humankind now has the choice, the knowledge and the power to prevent the calamity of extinction.

Imagine a hundred or a thousand Hiroshimas at one time. Imagine a world with nowhere to hide and perhaps nobody left to hide. As more and more people in all countries grasp the full implications of the monstrous stockpiles of nuclear weaponry, peace movements grow in number and beyond political ideology, driven by peoples' inmost urge to live. We can all live only if we all combine in the struggle for peace.

India and other non-aligned countries are convinced that only general and complete disarmament can provide real and enduring security. Nuclear-weapon powers owe it to humanity to renounce the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons in any situation whatever. As a first step they should resume negotiations for disarmament and ban the production and testing of all nuclear weapons.

The other major theme is development. We are largely poor and technologically backward. Even the handful of the rich amongst us are not technologically self-reliant. Most of us have become free from colonial rule only in the last 35 years. Our national freedom is new ; our national unities need to be consolidated. Freedom itself releases long pent-up hopes and yearning for rights. In this age of instant globe-encircling information technology, the media dazzle eyes and fill ears with images and reports of affluence. Even the modest expectations of our peoples are far beyond our present means. Besides, we are hard put to preserve our independence because of the many economic, political and military pressures.

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The present world economic order is based on domination and inequality. The basic aim of the programmes of action drawn up in New Delhi was to strengthen the economies of weak nations. We outlined a mechanism to pool our own technological resources, a South-South dialogue as a supplement to the North-South one. We also indicated some immediate measures the most important of which was the convening of a Conference on Money and Finance for Development. To help developing countries is not mere largesse. It will directly benefit the industrialised because development in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and the enlargement of their incomes by removing obstacles to their export, will absorb industrial goods and machinery from advanced countries, stimulate economic activity and ease their unemployment problems. What better investment can the North make in its own future than by turning today's deprived of the South into tomorrow's consumers ?

Existing international institutions and those who have headed them have done valuable work but these bodies are not wholly representative, nor do they reflect the changes that have occurred in the international economy. No country or set of countries is without dilemmas . . . . The developing countries are caught between the inadequacies of internal and external resources. All these are parts of one global crisis. There is no way out except through dialogue among us all. Each country, however powerful, has more to gain by accommodation and cooperation than by withdrawal into individual isolation or adoption of policies to maintain the solidarity of the strong. That is why we advocate a New International Economic Order based on equality and justice.

It is time for bolder moves in trade, in financial and technological cooperation and a daring new initiative to eliminate global poverty by the end of the century.

Militarily, today's leading countries are incomparably more powerful than in the days when a single gunboat could silence and immobilize millions. The weak are not so weak, nor the strong so strong. The essence of the concept of non-alignment is peaceful co-existence and the promotion of constructive cooperation. The 'non' in the non-alignment relates to the importance of resisting attitudes of irreconcilable hostility. The positive aspects are the desire for friendship with other nations irrespective of patterns of government—which is their own business—and strengthening of the fabric of our own nations.

In India we work for self-reliance in action and self-respect in thought, which Bertrand Russel called the 'better half of pride.' But this pride is for human achievement and human potential. Its justification would be our ability to discern the future beyond the gloom of the present.

The safety of the weak is the strength of the strong. That is why the weakest and the poorest among us, within each society and in the international community, must be shielded from the inclemencies of the inter-

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national climate. Continued disparities also aggravate political tensions and lead to instability. The strong, with the help of the rest of the international community, can think of measures to contain the enormous destructive potential which gives them illusions of strength but whose very power is troublesome.

The Industrial Revolution gave a major turn to history. Out of it emerged industrial capitalism and, as a reaction to it, Marxism in its various forms. Together these have given rise to the great social upheavals of our time. The two have followed different paths but their ethos is basically materialistic. All that begins must end. And the seeds of the ending are presen tfrom the very beginning. What we have witnessed—the two World Wars, the possible approach of a third, so much more destructive and disastrous, and the struggle for power—are the end of the road for the existing order of competing systems. Out of this chaos a new order is struggling to be born.

This is our last chance of appealing to the old and the entrenched not to infect the new with its disease : neo-colonialism, monopoly, economic oppression, class divisions and big power politics, as also the idea that power is invincible, and can feed on itself, with militarization as the ultimate tool.

For us, and for all who are deeply concerned with the future of humanity, the question is whether we help the birth of this new creation or throttle it before it can draw breath. The matter is not simple because history has proved time and again that ideas and movements can be obstructed for some time but not stopped. How long can a few pockets of affluence continue to exert influence on the large populations, the natural resources and the cultural strength of the others ? How long can allies and supporters, who may not have a base in their own countries, and who are not in tune with the changing time, be perpetuated ? You cannot kill an idea by killing its adherents. The new born will not die, the birth can be delayed but the cost will be much higher and the affluent will have to pay. When peaceful change is thwarted violent upheaval occurs. Previously, the end of civilization brought destruction and trauma in its trail. If we keep to past trends, we too shall be engulfed by circumstances. But today we have the opportunity—which may well be the first in human history—for humankind to bridge the transition from the old to the new in a conscious way to build a new era to move together to a new future.

Address as Chairperson of the Non-Aligned Movement to the 38th Session of the United Nations General Assembly New York, 28 September 1983.

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In Cancun we have come to try for understanding, and if it is possible, our attention should be devoted to finding ways of cooperation between developed and developing countries.

Way back in 1955, my father spoke of the interdependence of continents and of our desire to be friends with, and to cooperate with Europe and America, along with others. Friendship cannot be meaningful without equality. I believe this is the mood today all over the world, in Africa, in Asia and in Latin America. There has always been interdependence of some kind but today it is between nations who are politically independent, conscious of their rights and of their legitimate place in the international community. The advance of technology, transport and communications has made such interdependence more relevant and even inescapable.

Development cannot be imported. Nor can it conform to a given pattern. It has to come through our own determined efforts, tailored to our peculiar conditions and ethos. We, the developing countries are working for economic cooperation amongst ourselves and for collective self-reliance. But we cannot avoid being affected adversely by outside events. This calls for international understanding and structural adjustments in the world economy itself.

Trade and financial flows are the only means of rectifying existing imbalances in the global economy. It is tragic that in an age of growing knowledge and capacity, income disparities between developed countries and developing countries are widening, and vast numbers in some countries are denied their basic needs.

It is crucial for developing countries to have increased financial flows. The deficits in balance of payments and the resources wanted for development are enormous. There are warnings of disaster if resources are denied. Bilaterally, and through international financial institutions, official development assistance has been extended to developing countries. At different times and in various forums, the need for increased assistance has been acknowledged. We hope the expectations aroused will not be belied.

We in the developing world have a long, hard path to climb. We shall persevere in our struggle to build modern economies and to ensure higher standards of living of our people. International cooperation and the assistance of developed countries are pivotal in quickening this process. We are not supplicants, nor are we confrontationists. It is our experience that the interests of the developed and developing countries are so intertwined that we can all survive in harmony only in conditions of true interdependence. The mutuality of interest between different nations and peoples can be served only by the establishment of a new international economic order, based on justice and equality. We earnestly seek a global compact which

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will ensure the development of the poorer countries along with the prosperity of the developed nations, in circumstances of international peace and security.

At the Conference of International Cooperation for Development, Cancun, Mexico, 22 October 1981.

Everybody agrees that there is a global economic crisis. It originated in the industrialized countries and has been in the making for some time. When, as a result of the Bretton Woods Conference, certain international financial institutions were set up, problems were not looked at in their totality nor was the changing world political situation taken into account. These institutions were meant primarily to promote the interests of advanced countries. At that time the majority of today's developing countries were not independent, so their legitimate interests went unrepresented and the internal contradictions inherent in the system soon became apparent. This basic structural flaw distorts the functioning of these institutions. It is not surprising that they have failed at the first crucial test. What was initially supposed to be advantageous to the developed but not specially helpful to the developing, has turned out to be bad for both.

The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank functioned with some predictability and helped the process of early post-war recovery, on which the prosperity of the sixties was based. But this prosperity was limited to only a few. Countries with dominant voting rights and with reserve currencies use these institutions as vehicles of their particular national objectives, specially as regards capital movements, exchange rates and liquidity.

It has been said that the economies of some important countries are recovering. Not all share this optimism. The ingredients of substantial improvement are not yet in sight, nor have major problems been solved. I am told that in 1982 the world as a whole had a negative growth rate. In industrialized countries the annual rate of growth has fallen from an average of 5 to 2 per cent or less. In five years the affluent countries have lost an extra income of more than $ 2000 billion. One-fifth to one-third of plant capacity is idle. Over 10 per cent of their working force is unemployed.

The poorer countries have been hit even harder. Within the international community, as in any society, the brunt of suffering falls on the weakest. To the affluent the crisis means loss of additionality; to the poor a shrinking of the little they have. Contraction in economic activity in poorer countries directly causes widespread distress, for they have no cushion of social security. Thus is the crisis of the developed transmitted to the deve-

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loping, the ill wind from the North creating uncontrollable eddies in the South.

And this, just when developing countries, the step-children of the Industrial Revolution, had ventured to expect that their hard-won political independence and years of sustained effort would break the vicious circle of poverty, low investment, low production and more poverty.

The belated increase of IMF quotas and the arrangements being made with central banks and governments for debt recovery are clear admissions that basic reforms are overdue .... It is self-evident that while immediate help is essential to overcome balance of payments difficulties, the more lasting solution is to restructure global financial and trading systems so that the preoccupation of powerful nations with their immediate domestic issues does not damage the poor, or override their own long-term interest.

Development has been far from easy for us. Infrastructural inadequacies are implicit in the very nature of under-development. Those who help are tempted to interfere. International institutions want to pressurize and change policies, not appreciating the compulsions of our circumstances. Fast moving communication technology distracts our people with the dazzle of the affluent. In the last three centuries, Europe and America have dominated the world economically, politically and culturally. There, capitalism, socialism and communism developed in their many forms, influenced the thinking patterns of people elsewhere, and disturbed the traditional skein of obligations of African and Asian societies. They focused attention on getting rather than giving, on rights rather than responsibilities. In many societies the factors that made for emotional security have been rent asunder. The continuance of colonial educational systems perpetuate the psychology of self-criticism and imitation. Educated articulate persons view progress and development in terms of the level of goods and services they can command, and not the inherent self-reliant strength generated in the economy. Transnational advertising arouses new desires which distort economic priorities, and lure people into artificial consumption patterns to the neglect of natural resources—one example is the spread of bottle-feeding in preference to breast-feeding The natural nutritive value of grain and other edibles is removed only to be replaced by artificial additives, increasing the cost, the effort and even possible health hazards, to say nothing of sacrificing flavour. Our countries are deprived of the fruits of growth. In this, as indeed in all ventures, including the international sale of arms, the motive is profit.

Changes are inevitable. How do we ensure that they are consistent with our long-term goals, and realistic enough to carry conviction with those who implement major decisions? They cannot come about by wishful thinking. The attention of governments must be reoriented to the problems of the underprivileged sections of the world community. Developing countries generate 20 per cent of the world's output, absorb 30 per cent of the

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total exports of developed countries and, in the seventies, had higher rates of investment; why should they be denied their rightful share in decision-making?

"Debt-crises" are there because private international banking, alert and sensitive as it is to opportunities for profitable recycling, cannot perform the function which, by its very nature, can be undertaken only by suitably strengthened international organizations dealing with problems of money and finance for a developing world economy. Strong international organizations must be truly representative of the international community. . . . The mutuality of interests of different nations and peoples must be fully recognized. Hence the need for a New International Economic Order.

I am among those who believe that no sustained revival of the North is possible without the development of the South. The world is too integrated to permit of segmentation. Some countries cannot continue to prosper, ignoring stagnation in others. How much brighter would the future of humankind be if nations collaboratively directed their R and D to global issues such as energy, nutrition and health, population control, urban redevelopment, pollution control and ecological conservation !

On this small planet of ours, there is no room for permanent enmities and irreversible alienations. We have to live side by side. As Buckminster Fuller puts it, either war is obsolete or man is. We must recognize the interrelation of security, development and environment. Nuclear and chemical weaponry is genocidal and ecocidal. True security is not the defence of this or that country but of the world as a whole. Not merely military security but the saving of life—our lives of humans and all species. International relations must be recognised gradually but surely on the basis of living and evolving together, starting by finding areas of commonality and enlarging them, identifying the links and strengthening them.

I am a soul in agony. As one who feels passionately about freedom, I cannot but be alarmed at the continuing, pushing domination, the new methods and forms of colonialism. This is all the more pernicious because less obvious and recognizable. Except for a few places, the visible presence of foreign rule has gone. We are free to run our affairs and yet are we not bound by a new type, a surrogate colonialism ? How else shall we describe the power of and pressures exerted through the monopoly control of capital ; the withholding of superior technology ; the political use of grain ; the manipulation of information, so subtle and subliminal in influencing minds and attitudes ? Is it not time for us to pause from our daily concerns to ponder over this new dependence ? Instead of reacting, should we, the developing, not think of action on our own ?

Development is not merely economic or material, but something much wider, encompassing all aspects of our universe and of the human

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personality, no less than the environment. We cannot neglect the preservation of culture, the encouragement of the arts, in which I include the folk traditions. We must take cognizance of ancient lore, much of which was bassed on sound commonsense, of medicines from locally available herbs, of building materials more suited to climate and style of living. Every country must keep and enrich its special ethos. There is no conflict between this and modernity. Material well-being must be accompanied by the blossoming of our inner resources, sharpening our perception and enhancing our range of feeling. With expanding knowledge of the outer world, we should be able to look deeper within ourselves.

Raul Prebisch Lecture at Belgrade, 8 June 1983.

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Commonwealth

The Commonwealth is a useful international institution in the perplexed and trouble-torn world of today. It is a forum for mature deliberations. It helps to generate understanding and goodwill. Its significance is borne out by the presence of the heads of so many governments. Busy men and women accustomed to count every minute of their time would not spend a week together were they not convinced of the value of this meeting to promote the common good.

Four-fifths of the twentieth century is behind us and we are justified in taking stock of achievements and setbacks since 1900. The end of empires and the emergence of more than 100 countries into freedom is one of the more remarkable events of this coentury. The Commonwealth is itself a symbol of this great change, of the transformation of an imperial hierarchy into a fellowship of equals. It has contributed to the overcoming of old prejudices and the fashioning of a new outlook. The freedom and resurgence of a large part of Africa are a tribute to the Commonwealth spirit. But one last bastion of the racists remains, openly defying world opinion. The unfinished battle in Southern Africa is a challenge which we must face with determination.

The very informality of the Commonwealth's proceedings and methods of functioning is conducive to deeper understanding and the acceptance of mutual obligation. The convention that the Commonwealth should eschew bilateral disputes has helped it to concentrate on areas of larger common concern and to develop constructive approaches for cooperative action.

The world is threatened by two major dangers. The first and more obvious is the recrudescence of confrontation between the big powers and the fearful increase in armaments—nuclear and conventional—and their spread to various parts of the globe. The second is the persistence of economic distress among large sections of mankind and the widening of the gap between the developed and developing. The prospects of building a sane world order are in dire peril.

What is the role of the Commonwealth at this critical juncture ? The Commonwealth is composed of many regional and small powers. We may interpret the causes of the Cold War variously, but the menacing reality of the present leaves little room for any divergence. It is imperative that we assume a greater responsibility and interpose our moral and political strength against policies and actions which jeopardize the very basis of human existence. As we meet here together our collective perception should be sharpened. When we disperse, we should use our influence in quiet ways to urge restraint and conciliation on the big powers and help

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to build bridges of understanding between contending parties. At this hinge of human history, this is an obligation we cannot shirk.

In the last few decades nation after nation has been engaged in the search for political independence, economic welfare and a new economic international order, based on justice and equality. The whole world must transform itself from a collection of unequals into a community of equals —equals not perhaps in material affluence but in opportunities, in the assurance of freedom from want and from fear, and in self-esteem. Representing as we do both developed and developing countries, this Conference in particular, can view economic realities in a wider perspective and see the consequences to humanity of a continuing failure to find a way out which can only emerge from new forms of economic cooperation.

At the Inaugural Session of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, Melbourne, 30 September 1981.

In the two years since the Lusaka Commonwealth Conference, the world has become harsher. The Cold War has reemerged perhaps in greater severity than previously. The patient efforts of the last few years to promote *detente* and reduce tensions among the Big Powers have been overtaken by policies of confrontation, containment and rearmament. This is cause for profound disquiet because dangers have come closer to us and if these trends are not reversed in time, our expectations of development and of a better life for the underprivileged will turn to ashes. What is at stake is the very survival of humanity.

Can the Commonwealth survive merely as an informal gettogether ? India believes that the Commonwealth can be invigorated by our concerted effort to balance and stabilise the various forces of turmoil and crisis. By formulating the Zimbabwe Plan, the Lusaka Summit won new respect and strength for the Commonwealth. This initiative had been followed up by some important members. The turn of events in Southern Africa, in Namibia and Angola once again puts the Commonwealth to the test against the evil of racism in conjunction with exploitative vested interests. The whole world is warning that the days of apartheid are numbered. We cannot equivocate on this issue. We do not wish to interfere with or delay any process which is under way but we are entitled to be informed of any plan of action and the time frame.

The Commonwealth has a valuable function in numerous areas of activity. At a time when news from all directions is disturbing, we must collectively strengthen the voice of the Commonwealth in calling for (in the words of the Secretary-General) 'a saner and more cooperative world

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order.' We must revive our faith in solving problems by peaceful negotiations. We must support every effort to bring the Big Powers together, however discouraging it may seem. War cannot be left to the generals and politics only to the politicians. Peace is too serious to be left only to the powerful nations. India's association with the Commonwealth is consistent with its traditions of fostering peace and goodwill, and of working for the prevalence of ideals over fear, hatred and bitterness.

The current international situation, with the re-emergence of the Cold War, reminds me of my father's words at the 1961 Non-aligned Conference in Belgrade : 'First things must come first and nothing is more important than this world situation of war and peace. Everything else, however vital to us, has a secondary place. If in this crisis, something we do, some action of ours or some words of ours help to some extent to resolve the problem, to remove the fear of war, then we have justified ourselves.'

At the Executive Session of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting,
Melbourne, 1 October 1981.

Free India's decision to remain in the Commonwealth, although it was soon to become an independent republic, was in line with the ethos of our struggle for freedom. We fought imperialism not a country or a people. We resolved consciously not to sever historical links but to transform them into a new relationship of friendship, conciliation and cooperation for the good not merely of our two countries but in the larger context. The London Conference of 1949 was a turning point in the evolution of the Commonwealth. At that meeting, as Lester Pearson has noted, my father argued convincingly that cooperation could be only for peaceful and constructive purposes. That meeting clearly declared that all members were free and equal, cooperating with one another in the pursuit of peace, liberty and progress. There was no obligation to follow a common policy.

Answering critics in India, Jawaharlal Nehru explained :

> I have naturally looked to the interests of India, for that is my first duty. I have always conceived that duty in terms of the larger good of the world. The world is full of strife today and disaster looms on the horizon. In men's hearts there is hatred and fear and suspicion which cloud their vision. Every step, therefore, which leads to a lessening of this tension in the world should be a welcome step. I think it is a good augury for the future that old conflict between India and

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England should be resolved in this friendly way which is honourable to both countries.

The Commonwealth brings together about a third of the member-states of the United Nations. It is a genuinely eclectic grouping of nations, comprising many races, religions and diverse geographical regions. No constitution, act or treaty limits the ambit of its concerns. It is a North-South forum encompassing a representative range of developing countries and some of the developed. It is also a forum where non-aligned countries meet those who belong to military alliances. It is obvious that we cannot agree on all matters, yet we try to find some common ground. To be a living organism, the Commonwealth must be flexible and responsive to changing situations. As the world evolves, so should the Commonwealth.

At the Inaugural Function of the
Commonwealth Heads of Government
Meeting, New Delhi, 23 November 1983.

Compiled by Vanita Ray from volumes of *Selected Speeches* of the Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, New Delhi.

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BOOK REVIEWS

ANTHROPOLOGICAL DIPLOMACY—A NEW PERSPECTIVE TO INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

A Review Article

IN the last half-decade there has been rising interest in "anthropological diplomacy." In 1982, the College of William and Mary (Virginia) published two "state of the art" volumes on it,* which tend to suggest much activity in a fresh field. The aim here however, is to indicate the limitations of the new subject. The great majority of the contributors to the William and Mary volumes are anthropologists; they seek to contribute to the field of diplomacy and international relations from their perspective as anthropologists. The present article intends to point that contributions to the field of international relations must be made in terms laid down by both the theories and practice of international relations.

Discounting the academic opportunism that accompanies each new subject, there are interesting reasons for the birth of anthropological diplomacy. There has been, above all, a double desire : to make a contribution to the *conduct* of international affairs; as well as to the study of international relations. The drive has been public-spirited as well as academic. The assumption has been that the study of mankind within local communities might yield principles that could clarify the conflicts that exist within the international community, and help to resolve them. Secondly, there has been the perception that international relations is not yet a true academic discipline, but that it might become one after fuller contact with established disciplines such as anthropology. This dualism behind anthropological diplomacy, which describes it as both an applied science and a more academic one, deserves comment.

Firstly, it should be pointed out that this is not the first attempt to explicate international relations from the basis of another discipline. In a rather celebrated effort, Konrad Lorenz explored various kinds of animal aggressiveness, and sought to demonstrate behavioural analogies in the human species—particularly its resort to war.[1] Konrad maintained that an "instinctual aggression" within humanity constituted the foundation for its warring tendencies. As critics pointed out, this sort of explanation was deficient : it removed the question of both moral cause and blame for war. In a stroke, mankind had been relieved of morality, and its philosophical systems of morality and justice were over-ridden by its

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*1. Mario D. Zamoro (*Ed.*) : *Anthropological Diplomacy : Issues and Principles* (Studies in Third World Societies, 20, Willamsburg, 1982).

2. Paul J. Magnarella (*Ed.*): *Anthropological Diplomacy : Case Studies in the Application of Anthropology to International Relations* (Studies in Third World Societies, 21, Williamsburg, 1982).

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instinctual aggression. Secondly, it removed all other human apparatus from the causes of war, particularly economic and political apparatus—not to mention ideological apparatus; instinctual aggression could, therefore, attempt to explain why mankind resorted to war, but could not explain why he particularly went to war in, say, Vietnam or the Middle East. If his aggression was the dominating cause of war, why not go to war anytime and anywhere he felt aggressive ?[2]

All this is to suggest that international relations has already been informed by a variety of established disciplines, philosophy and economics being two. Nevertheless, there is a case to be made for regarding international relations as an incomplete discipline. As a branch of political science, it shares the tensions that exist there. These are tensions occasioned by two schools of thought : one is intuitive and relies upon unquantified judgement; the other attempts to be scientific, gathers data and, if no data is available, seeks to construct models. Within international relations, the famous debate between Hedley Bull and Morton A. Kaplan represents this division.[3] One side borrows from scientific disciplines that are themselves emerging : modelling, systems analysis, games theory, etc. The other side is dependent on "classical" disciplines : economics, philosophy, particularly history, to underpin and elucidate intuitive judgements. On both sides, there is room for other borrowings. Anthropology may well be beneficially borrowed from, and be useful to what we might call the classical approach to international relations.

What we have thus far, therefore, is that anthropological diplomacy is applicable to one part of international relations. Secondly, that one part is heavily dependent on other disciplines; anthropology did not get there first and must accomodate itself with others. If international relations is not yet a true discipline, it is definitely inter-disciplinary; on this point, the William and Mary monographs seem surprisingly naive. Thirdly, we have the example of Konrad Lorenz, whose singular approach to the critical centre-point of international relations, international war, did not recognise the complex apparatus of international cooperation and differentiation, and had no applicability within this apparatus. As a subject that wishes both a public application and an academic role, anthropological diplomacy should proceed with caution.

Of those disciplines that have already made a contribution to international relations, philosophy, as exemplified by the work of Kenneth Waltz, should interest the advocates of anthropological diplomacy.[4] Waltz's work is now thirty years old, and is seminal. In philosophic terms, he approaches international conflict from three standpoints : individual human behaviour; the behaviour of individual states; the behaviour of the international state system. To draw a very simplified caveat : one does not leap from conclusions based on localised study to an international applicability. The study of international relations, in the classical sense

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anyway, proceeds through layers of human endeavour, from the individualistic to the international, but confronts philosophical and methodological obstacles and contradictions at every intervening level. Waltz's rigorous enquiry should be viewed as a model. Since he begins with the individual and his most basic communities, he uses the same raw material as the anthropologists. What should be a requisite in anthropological diplomacy, but which is lacking, is an attempt, in anthropological terms, to parallel Waltz's philosophic contribution to international relations.

Having made these overriding comments about how, if it wishes to be taken seriously, anthropological diplomacy should proceed, let us briefly regard some particular arguments from the William and Mary monographs.

Firstly, there is the somewhat carelessly offered advice that we require the services of anthropology so that we might better understand third world diplomats and third world diplomacy. As Adam Watson has pointed out, such advice is wrong. The international apparatus involves all nations. Third World nations make a special case for their economic conditions, but do this best when they negotiate strongly within the international apparatus. The aim is for third world diplomats to understand this apparatus better—not to allow those who have historically dominated the structure one other reason for condescension towards the international efforts of the Third World.[5]

Secondly, there is advice, very much from an American perspective, but applicable to other countries, that anthropological diplomacy would assist, nations at war, better to understand and anticipate their enemies. The United States forces could have been less shocked by some of the tactics employed by the Northvietnamese. Well, maybe. But, in the Vietnamese case, were the tactics employed of a peculiar culture, explicable in anthropological terms ? Or, were they part and parcel of irregular strategy that has been around since Sun Tzu, and modernised by T.E. Lawrance, Mao Tse-Tung, Che Guevara and V.N. Giap ?[6] On the matter of regular warfare, there is now a body of strategy and tactics taughtin every staff college on earth. Across the central front of today's Europe, military, planning is predicated on a variety of factors. There may be military, political, and economic reasons to induce one side to attack first —but the notion of a cultural predisposition to fire the first shot has fallen into disrepute.[7]

Thirdly, still from an American perspective, anthropological diplomacy can help the American public better to understand its nation's own foreign policy. Here, a variety of cliches are trotted out with regard to US idealism, sense of fair play and democratic proportion. Accepting at face value the official explications of foreign policy, an attempt is made to find roots for all this in the American character. Not only is this naive, but it is also ignorant of the discipline to which the author in question seeks to

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contribute. Particularly since the end of the Second World War, but with its immediate roots in the inter-war period, American foreign policy has been informed by a "realist" mentality. This has been advocated, not only by practitioners of international affairs, but by theorists. In fact, it could be said that the major contribution of theory to practice in the post-war years has been theory's recognition and corroboration of a search for power as the determining point of international affairs. A "utopian" school of thought, that perhaps functional cooperation might be a better centre-point of international relations, was defeated. Power, having no idealistic baggage, could be pursued beyond and despite the limitations of morality. As the most influential theorist of our times put it, "universal moral principles cannot be applied to the actions of states in their abstract, universal formulation, but they must be filtered through the concrete circumstances of time and place."[8] Politics, according to Morgenthau, particularly international politics, constituted a separate sphere from normal human expectations.

Fourthly, more outward-looking, anthropological diplomacy can assist in the more efficient and effective distribution of aid. To know better what other cultures require is the first step in meeting those requirements. There is no ostensible fault in this reasoning. What it misses is any appreciation of the awesome apparatus of international aid-giving, which (a) purposely seeks to preserve its structure, and only secondly to disburse aid in a manner that is meaningful to the recipients ; it must first be meaningful to the disbursing agency. (b) Is inextricably linked to an international commercial network of sales and investment which cannot be disrupted ; aid, indeed, is traditionally suborned to these more powerful interests—sometimes explicitly so, as in the case of that seemingly most humanitarian form of aid, food disbursal. (c) Is mediated by international bureaucracies and political requirements among nations. (d) Sometimes misses an essential point entirely : that there is often no question of an insufficiency which must be met, but a question of political non-entitlement to what is available ; for example, there may be food available in times of famine ; starving people, without the aid of anthropologists, will demonstrably and authentically require food ; but the food will not reach them.[9]

Fifthly, and here we reach dangerous ground, there is the contention that the international system, without any centralised, enforceable law, dependent on power relationships, resembles closely primitive societies ; therefore, the study of primitive societies will help us to understand the international system. This is reductionist thought of the worst kind. It ignores totally the huge body of international theory that has sought to explicate the international system, and to explain why in the absence of an authoritative centre-point, there can be said to be an international *system*, and why that system has bonded the world sufficiently for it not yet to have disappeared. The work of people like Waltz, Kissinger, and

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particularly Raymond Aron, cannot be reduced to an analogy with primitive societies. Aron's models of a homogenous world system, and of a heterogenous one, are themselves evidence that the international system evolves and changes in terms of extreme complexity and sophistication.[10]

None of these examples is to suggest that anthropological diplomacy has no contribution to make, either in practical terms or in academic ones. Practically, it needs to be aware of the realist conduct of international politics. It needs to sift political evidence with the care one would expact in a strictly academic problem. Academically, it needs to be aware not only that international relations has been informed by a host of academic disciplines, but that a degree of academic rigour resides within the work already accomplished in this field. Anthropological diplomacy cannot be ignorant of these disciplines and this work. Unfortunately, the William and Mary monographs betray, at times, a monumental exclusiveness in their approach.

Any new subject, in staking its claims to be taken seriously, tends to over-reach itself. This is what anthropological diplomacy has done. There are, however, more modest objectives which it can accomplish, apart from those grand schemes proposed by its more anxious protagonists. It can be of use as an input to the conduct of sensitive negotiations, where symbollic concessions or wording is at stake. The nature of symbols, as perceived by two sides, is something anthropological diplomacy can elucidate. Similarly, it can be of use in illuminating cultural perspectives on such issues of international debate as human rights. Thirdly, quite apart from the design of strategies in foreign aid, but at the level where actual disbursal of aid has been sanctioned, anthropological diplomacy can do much to facilitate the implementation of, say, a primary health care programme in rural areas characterised by traditional beliefs and illiteracy—but this is probably stretching the meaning of anthropological *diplomacy*, as something international.

Such approaches are included in the William and Mary monographs, but they tend to disappear under the weight of rashness evident in the bulk of the contributions. If the monographs represent the "state of the art," then that art requires considerable refinement and editing. The art can best proceed by modest suggestions. If there are very ambitious academics, wishing to make their names in a new field, then the sort of enterprise mentioned earlier in this article, an anthropological parallel to Waltz, should profitably tax any mind. In the meantime, if anthropological diplomacy wishes to be taken seriously, by those in international relations, then it must recognise the obligations inherent in its name. It is insufficient to be only an expert in anthropology and, on that basis, seek to inform another subject. In this case, there is a huge corpus of work on diplomacy and international relations which the anthropologists must con-

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sult and digest. Until then, anthropological diplomacy, while well-intentioned, will be marginal and colourful.

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9 There is now a vast literature on this subject. For example, linked to the divisions in the paragraph, see :
  (a) Elizabeth Colson, *Planned Change—The Creation of a New Community* (Berkeley, 1982) and Stephen Chan, "International Development Assistance—the Politics of a Community," *New Zealand International Review* (Wellington), November-December, 1984.
  (b) and (c) John Cathie, *The Political Economy of Food Aid* (London, 1982).
  (d) Amartya Sen, *Poverty and Famines—An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation*, (London, 1981).
10 Raymond Aron, *Peace and War* (New York, 1966).

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THEORIES OF DEVELOPMENT

RONALD H. CHILCOTE AND DALE L. JOHNSON (*Eds.*) : Theories of Development : Mode of Production or Dependency ? Sage Publications, India Ltd., New Delhi, 1983, 256 p., $ 25.

VARIOUS lines of thinking have evolved on the issues of development and underdevelopment during the 1960's and early 1970's. "Dependency theory" which achieved some degree of prominence among the intellectuals and academic circles, posing a challenge to the traditional Marxist formulation, was seriously questioned by the "mode of production analysis" which is more in tune with traditional Marxism. Today there is a serious theoretical and political controversy centering around the dependency and mode of production approach. The present volume *Theories of Development : Mode of Production or Dependency ?* edited by Ronald H. Chilote and Dale L. Johnson is a collection of articles reflecting these views and is a significant contribution to this dehate.

The book contains seven articles. Ahmed in his paper "Imperialism and Progress" examines the view of Bill Warren developed in his work *Imperialism : Pioneer of Capitalism*. Warren argues that 'imperialism is a progressive agency of industrialization and technological advance in the backward periphery of the global capitalist system.' In his view Marx had equated colonialism with progress. Warren also criticises Lenin's views on imperialism and is hopeful about prospects of capitalist development in underdeveloped peripherial areas. Ahmed critically examines the views of Warren and argues that "Marx never composed a full-bodied text on the question of colonialism and it is unfair to derive a global theory from a couple of journalistic pieces." Marx argues, as analysed by Ahmed, that revolution was necessary to counter 'progressive colonialism and capitalism,' which is clearly evident in the later writings of Marx between 1850-1880. Ahmed also criticises Warren that he, as a modern theorist, "fails to scrutinize these projections in the light of later researches and development, and elevates the most questionable parts of those theses to the status of a theory that is said to refute Lenin's later contributions and in the process exhibits even less knowledge and perception." Further, Ahmed censures Warren for ignoring the negative impact of capitalism in his work.

Charles Johnson's paper--"Ideologies in Theories of Imperialism and Dependency"—attacks the dependency theory and analyses the contemporary world situation basing arguments on Marxist-Leninist basic principles of dialectical and historical materialism. The terms "dependency" and "imperialism" are, in the opinion of Johnson, old concepts emphasized by bourgeois political economists. He has divided dependency theory into socio-economic and political components. The socio-economic components

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of the dependency thesis does not deal with relations of production of monopoly capital. The other component--political theses—attacks the national bourgeoisie and local capital and, ignores their positive role, if any, in national liberation movements thus isolating this section of the society from the working class. The petty bourgeois intellectuals adopt guerilla tactics and in turn also become isolated from the proletariat class. The dependency thesis, John feels, is not aware of the impact of penetration of imperialism in Latin America.

The article -- "Imperialism, Social Classes and the State in Peru—1890-1930," by Anibal Quijano, is a study of the structural dependency of Peru within the framework of imperialism. Quijano examines the historical conditions—how the imperialist capitalism involving semi-colonial accumulation, a mixture of monopoly capitalism and precapitalism, had penetrated. This semi-colonial accumulation was largely influenced by the active involvement of US and British firms. In Peru, monopoly capital was concentrated in the primary production—in oil and agriculture during 1890-1925; the manufacturing sector was relatively weak and monopoly capital extracted surplus value so that national capital came to be relatively weak. These forces contributed to make the Peruvian economy a dependent capitalist country. Thus the dual nature of the economic structure of Peru—capitalist as well as the precapitalist - comprising of "contradictory and complementary" elements is a fundamental factor which governs the class relations in Peruvian society. This has been deeply analysed by Quijano. Quijano has been very careful in examining the specific forms of relationship between imperialist expansion and local class formation. However, he seems to suffer from the limitation of heavy dependence on external determination.

Norma Stoltz Chinchilla, in her outstanding contribution, "Interpreting Social Change in Guatemala : Modernization, Dependency, and Articulation of Modes of Production," has made an excellent survey of the studies on Guatemala. She observes that much of the work has concentrated on relations of exchange and circulation and has been faced with difficulty in relating the dependency theory to reality. So the dependency theorists have formulated abstract propositions without empirical verification. However, there are few studies, as mentioned by Chincilla, which have examined modes and relations of production approach.

Chinchilla then develops her own thesis. She examines the relationship of external and internal forces in the development of modes of production in colonized societies. It is argued by her, that the feudal mode of production in Guatemala was primarily the result of an external phenomena—the Spanish conquest. But once the mode of production has penetrated into the social system its development is primarily guided by internal factors like class structure, forms of accumulation of capital and the political structure.

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The article "Crisis and Transformation of Dependency in the World System" by Andre Gunder Frank examines the past and present world economic crises in a theoretical framework of the world system. He contemplates a single world economic system with many parts of an unequal nature : a developed North and an underdeveloped South; a capitalist West (including, of course, Japan); and the socialist East. Within this system there are pre-capitalist, capitalist and socialist relations of production. Frank reviews the periods of crises in Western history in his article and shows that the present world capitalist crises of stagnation began in the 1960s after a period of expansion since World War II. He observes—"the shift of the metropolitan centre from Great Britain to the United States in the case of development," as well as the impact of imperialism on India and other parts of the Third World. Frank also examines in his paper the dimension of the present world crisis. Finally he discusses the prospects for delinking from dependent capitalism and for revolutionary strategy. Frank's paper is found to be fundamental and thought provocative, but seems to lack dialectical flavour.

Veltmeyer in his paper "Surplus Labour and Class Formation on the Latin American Periphery" has addressed to the problem of formation of the different categories of surplus population and how this relates to reproduction of labour power. He also focuses on the issue—whether the pheripheral societies have reached a stage of capitalist development as traced out by Marx and Lenin or whether such development takes a new form and different form of class structure. While evaluating the different approaches to the issue, Veltmeyer observes the capitalist penetration into agriculture in the periphery and the extent to which direct producers are gradually dispossessed from their means of production and form a surplus population or labour reserve. He also refers to a large mass known as semi-proletariat, who are dispossessed peasants as well as those who combine subsistence and petty commodity production with seasonal or casual wage labour. These semi-proletariats serve capital as a means of cheap surplus labour in the expansion of the capitalist agro export sector and the working class in the urban centres. In the light of recent studies, Veltmeyer also analyses how expanding capital increases surplus population at a lower wage rate and explains how conditions lead to "super exploitation" or the "forcible reduction of wage below the value of labour power."

Dale Johnson's concluding chapter, "Class Analysis and Dependency," is an evaluation of the theoretical disputes at issue. He criticises the dependency approach for its "under emphasis on class analysis and its over emphasis on external determination." Nevertheless, he opines that the issue of development and underdevelopment has been analysed satisfactorily extending and modifying the dependency theory, not by rejecting it.

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As a Marxist alternative to the dependency theory, mode of production has made a contribution by pointing to several problems and deficiencies of the dependency approach. But mode of production thinking, as argued by Johnson, does not seem to be an adequate alternative framework as it was tendered to be "formalistic, concerned with the structural features of distinct modes rather than with structural movement."

After evaluating the different views, Johnson places a historical structural method that poses a dialectic of the "general" and "proximate" determinants of the historical condition of underdevelopment and dependency. General determinants are the process of "the internationalised accumulation and the class formation and class polarisation" operating at the world system level. Proximate determinants are "those class relations (including the activities of the state viewed as an expression of class relations) that are rooted in the territorial unit of the world system." This approach has been utilised by Johnson in his analysis of class formation and polarisation.

In summary we find that the papers in the volume focus on five important issues : (a) concern for a dialectical and historical materialist approach to be adopted for the analysis of the present world ; (b) attention to ideological implications of work on dependency and imperialism. (c) whether capitalism is progressive or regressive; (d) what kinds of economic formation exist in the periphery ; and (e) the nature of class relation and class struggle.

Though there is diversion in perspectives and analysis and views among the contributors, yet we find it healthy that all the writers attempt to base their arguments not only on classical Marxist theories and writings on pre-capitalist and capitalist accumulation but also to search for new ideas and new propositions about class relations and mode of production and imperialism.

The volume is, no doubt, a significant contribution to a serious search for the understanding of development, underdevelopment, imperialism and dependency.

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INDIA

RAVINDER KUMAR : Essays in the Social History of Modern India. Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1983, ix, 306 p., Rs. 130.

IN this book Ravinder Kumar brings together eleven of his essays on modern India contributed to various symposia and journals over the past decade. These essays deal with some of the facets and specific episodes of the national movement and examine the historiography which seeks to delineate this movement. What makes these essays unique is neither the virginity of their theme nor novelty of data, but the viewpoint of a scholar "who looks upon society in its totality so as to gain insights into its structure as well as the processes of change which characterize it." (p. vii)

Kumar analyses the complex phenomenon of nationalism, which transformed India from a colony to an independent polity, in the light of changes which came about in the structure of Indian society as a result of British rule. He describes how the locus of power within nationalist politics, born in urban centres, shifted to the rural classes and "the dominance of the latter gave a unique flavour to the economic aspirations as well as the political style of nationalism in India." (p. 13) He reveals how, notwithstanding the role played by "ideal factors" in the national movement, the overall features of the movement were shaped by the self-interest of the classes which were drawn into it.

The ideology of nationalism in the nineteenth century Europe, Kumar is aware, led societies which were culturally and ethnically homogenous "to organize themselves into independent States," and it encouraged them "to do so in the belief that political autonomy will heighten their material as well as their cultural creativity." (p. 2) The application of such an ideology in the context of a highly heterogenous society like India raises the fundamental question of the possibility of forging a "nation."

Mahatma Gandhi did concede that our society is a "loose constellation of classes, communities and religious groups." But, he demonstrated how a focus of loyalty could be devised which would "knit such social groups into a creative political society." (p. 68) The movement launched by him against the British Government of India and the modalities of its operation were designed to provide such a focus of loyalty for the people of India. But the fragility of the political unity conjured into existence by Gandhi has become evident with the the gradual waning of the euphoria of Independence in the last three decades. The inability of the political elite to grapple effectively with the task of fostering a cohesive political society and the frequency and magnitude of fissiparous tendencies in the country have resulted in so grave a crisis as to warrant a fresh debate on the question of our nationhood. What are the lessons we have (not) learnt

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from historical experience ? How to transform a people into a nation under conditions of political independence ? These are the types of questions which need urgent attention.

Kumar refers again to Gandhi's efforts at forging a loyalty, in his essay on the nationalist politics in Bombay, in the crucial period between the initiation of non-cooperation in 1920 and the launching of civil disobedience during 1930-32, and in his critical appraisal of the Rowlatt Satyagraha in Lahore in 1919. He exposes the myth of an all-embracing national movement by showing the changing profiles of the social groups which supported Gandhi at different stages of his struggle against the British rule. This changing profile is shown to be related to the politicization of new social groups as well as to the changing issues in nationalist politics.

In his essay on the transformation of rural protest in India, Kumar examines the manner in which "the rural classes in India, which were involved in the creation of agricultural wealth, sought to protect their interests from the exactions of their landlords or the State." (p. 70) He argues that there were well established conventions of rural protest in the country and that the resultant forms of protest never really challenged the bases of political society in India. Even the national movement did not result in any qualitative change in the nature of rural protest. The fact that sections of cultivating classes were drawn into the national movement muted the attempt of the radicals to unleash class struggle in the villages. As is only to be expected, since 1947 a number of agrarian struggles have been launched. According to Kumar, the nature and consequences of rural protest in the coming decades would depend on the success or otherwise of the attempts to resolve the problems of rural society through parliamentary processes.

The Bombay textile strike of 1919 forms the theme of an essay in which Kumar enquires into the political values of the working classes. The "complete spontaneity ; an absence of class consciousness, class organization and formal leadership ; and finally, the expression of long-standing grievances and pent-up frustrations through a popular explosion" make him describe the strike as "a species of a working class *jacquerie*." (p. 215) His examination of the origin, the course and the culmination of the strike point to the fact that notwithstanding the significance of class as a concept, the contextual relevance and the concrete quality of institutions and solidarities which mediate between the individual and the class to which he ideally belongs, shape his social loyalties and mould his political behaviour.

Turning to methodological and conceptual issues, Kumar explores "the conceptual approaches which have till recently informed the historical perception of nationalism in India." (p. 87) He argues that as far as the his-

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torians are concerned, the dichotomy between the material and the ideal factors is a false and misleading one. Referring to the insights of Karl Marx and Georges Lefebvre, he highlights the crucial dimension of ideal factors in historical analysis.

In a lengthy essay, Kumar provides an exposition of the concept of man in Indian history. According to him "the tension between 'Socialist' man who speaks for a rational social order and a 'Sarvodaya' man who reflects the cultural residues of the past is a basic tension in India today." This tension is attributed to the partial modernization of our society. It is likely to be resolved by "the extent to which the modern sectors of our economy triumph over its backward sectors" (p. 147) and our own awareness of the situation and our perception of the future.

Kumar's anthology should be as instructive to sociologists as it is to conventional historians. While the former will realize the interpretive insights they would miss by ignoring macro social history, the latter can appreciate what they can achieve by transcending mere chronicling of the past.

In spite of the scholarly erudition of nationalism and the methodology for its analysis presented in this book, one thing is conspicuous by its absence—that is a reference to A.R. Desai's pioneering and classical work on nationalism in India. In fact, the omission is intriguing !

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Bangalore.

T.S. MURTY : Assam The Difficult Years : A Study of Political Develop, ments in 1979-83. Himalayan Books, New Delhi, 1983, xvi, 293 p. Rs. 150.

BEING a traditional multi-ethnic society, conflict and clashes between different ethnic groups on various issues have dominated the Indian scene. Reorganization of states after Independence on linguistic basis has not only intensified the conflict but has also given birth to regionalism. Emphasis on the development of local culture and language has also created tensions leading to clashes between natives and migrants. In independent India, the slogan "sons of the soil" has even averted the path of nation building. The Shiva Sena Movement in Bombay and the Telengana Movement of Andhra Pradesh fall in this category. Assam faced three such movements in 1960, 1972 and 1979. The last of them in Assam gained momentum in November 1979, and till today, no solution has been found.

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The book under review by T S. Murty is an account of political developments in Assam from 1979-83. The author has claimed in the Preface that he has presented events as they took place. According to him, he has not tried to edit the partisanness or the subjectiveness, which means that he has reported the events as they have been claimed.

The book is divided into eleven chapters. The first chapter entitled "Twilight of the Janata" describes the happening from the Assembly Elections 1978 to December 1979. In January 1980, Mrs Indira Gandhi assumed the office of Prime Minister. The second chapter describes the events of three months (January-March 1980), when the new regime tried to get acquainted with the problem in Assam. The events between April and July 1980 have been described under the title "Crystallisation of Attitudes." Many persons tried to mediate between the Government and agitation leaders to find out the solution. One such attempt was made by the Chief Minister of Manipur. Chapter four describes the developments between July-September 1980 under the title "Mediation By Dorendra." It was in September 1980 that the talks between the Government and agitation leaders were initiated. Chapter five gives an account of events between September-November 1980 entitled "Talks and Turbulence." In December 1980, Mrs Anwara Taimur became the Chief Minister of Assam and remained in power till June 1981. The happenings during this period have been presented in chapter six. The fall of the Taimur Ministry in June 1981, led to the imposition of President's rule. Chapter seven gives an account of events from June 1981 to January 1982 during "President's Rule—Second Round." The developments during the Keshav Gogoi Ministry (January-March 1982), have been discussed in Chapter eight. On 19 March 1982, the Assembly was dissolved after the fall of the Gogoi Ministry. The events between April-July 1982 have been entitled as "The Unquiet Wait." The whole of August and September 1982 were spent either in negotiations or negotiating about negotiations. These developments have been discussed under the title. "A Sense of Urgency," in chapter ten. The last chapter has been titled as "The Loaded Pause."

The book also contains thirteen appendices. The first four appendices give the details of Parliamentary and Assembly Elections from 1977 to 1980. Next two appendices show the party position in the Assembly in March 1979 and December 1980. Appendix Seven describes the Immigrants (Expulsion from Assam) Act 1950. The Prevention of Infiltration Programme (PIP) drafted in 1965 has been presented in Appendix Eight. The Central Instructions on Immigrants are given in Appendix Nine. The calendar of events of agitation from 1979 to 1982 have been given in Appendix Ten. The various dates of meetings between agitation leaders and the government are presented in Appendix Eleven. Appendix Twelve gives the details of Varma Formula of 2 September 1982. A brief description of oil and ONGC in Assam is presented in the last appendix.

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The book is the narration of events as they happened in Assam. A reader interested in the analysis of Assam situation will be disappointed. The author himself has accepted that the reader has to make up his own mind. "The account is factual and as objective as one can make it. It is not-pro-AASU, it is not pro-AGSP, it is not pro-Assam Government, nor pro-Union Government. The book is not an expose either." (p. v).

The book can be used by social scientists interested in Assam as source material for political developments in Assam from 1979 to 1983.

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SURENDRA K. GUPTA

HELEN I. SAFA (*Ed.*) : Towards a Political Economy of Urbanization in Third World Countries. Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1982, xvi, 315 p., Rs. 45.

THE purpose of the book is to provide a theoretical framework which would enable one to analyse the socio-economic processes which accompany the growth of cities in the Third World. The assumption for attempting such an approach is that urbanization in the underdeveloped countries is different from those of the developed countries.

The earlier analysis with regard to causes of urbanization in the Third World, as, population growth, rural urban migration, inadequate industrialization, is considered as insufficient explanation as it does not provide for full understanding of the process in the Third World.

The present volume suggests that a similar approach to the analysis of urbanization both in the developed countries and the Third World countries is not meaningful as urbanization is a late process in the latter countries. While capitalism has been an important cause of urbanization in the Western world, in the Third World, in a sense, capitalism has been peripheral. Further their dependence on the advanced industrial societies, which had its beginning in the colonial days, is another aspect There is, thus, a strain between emerging capitalist economy with its requirements and earlier modes of production and its social organization, elements of which continue to persist in cities of the Third World.

For a better understanding of the urbanization, it is suggested that the following factors need to be studied :

(i) the dependant nature of capitalist development in the Third World; (ii) the importance of historical process; (iii) the class structure of cities and (iv) the role of the state.

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The volume under review is divided into four sections :

1 Labour Migration : Causes and Consequences.
2 Family and Kinship as Survival Mechanisms.
3 Small-Scale Entrepreneurs and the Informal Sectors.
4 Collective Action and Protest in the City.

In all of these aspects, the discussion is centered around the mechanisms which the underprivileged have developed for survival in the city. It may be relay or circulatory migration, it may be the family continuing to be a productive unit, the development of informal sectors which provide for cheap labour, goods and services or the formulation of neighbourhood groups, all of which are devices to withstand the economic and social strains of urbanization.

The case studies presented are cross cultural. The general thesis that urbanization in the Third World countries has variation, as compared to the developed world, is plausible. However, while the present volume does provide a lead and some insights, it is also indicative of the gaps that need to be studied to develop a more systematic frame of reference which would allow for a fuller and meaningful analysis of urbanization in the Third World countries. The difference within these latter countries is indeed great. While the approach suggested in the volume could be a beginning, it is doubtful whether it can provide a complete explanation of the phenomena under different cultural contexts.

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A.P. BARNABAS

VASANT DESHPANDE : Struggle of the Deprived for Development—The Mhaisal Untouchables. Dastane Ramchandra and Co., Poona, 1983, xi, 168 p., Rs. 50.

THIS work embodies a sympathetic study of development of the scheduled castes in the Maharashtra village of Mhaisal near Miraj. It revolves around the work of Madhukar Deval, who in the course of a generation has been able to transform the repressed and depressed Harijan community in the village into a group breathing a new air of self confidence. This self confidence has been produced by people's achievement of self sufficiency, economic gains and social power.

The story begins with Deval, the mind behind the project. The author details the early experience and training of Deval against the background of the social set up in the village. Making a modest beginning from a

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dairy Deval proceeded to build up a collective farm and use it as a tool for social transformation. This was followed by other programmes, such as aid to small peasants, housing schemes, eradication of the Devadasi System, temperance movement, aid to students, health service and organisation of rallies and training programmes. Thus an attempt has been made to effect a change in the total environment of the village, which means that the economic programmes must be accompanied by a scheme for social development. Although success in all these efforts are not equal it is necessary to pursue them since each reinforces the other.

Through a number of case studies, in which the beneficiaries themselves speak out, he has shown the gains made by the scheduled caste families from these efforts. Besides the economic gains, which have been considerable, the scheduled castes have bettered their own self-image. They are no longer totally dependent on the caste Hindus for their subsistence. They have registered an improvement in their social status by the fact that they have been accepted as equals by the caste Hindus. Cases of social discrimination are now things of the past. They feel that they are receiving more social regard and honour. Although they are poor they are out of the state of a abject misery. They have also given up some of the social evils from which their society was suffering.

The object of the author, through this case study, has been to explore what the Mhaisal project has to offer and what those individuals and organisations are trying to bring about by way of a social transformation in India. The first lesson is that the process of liberating the untouchables from oppression and injustice can be accelerated by improving their economic condition so that their dependence on the caste Hindus for their survival is reduced to the minimum. The attitudes of both the caste Hindu and of the Harijans themselves must change. The process can be speeded up by organising the scheduled caste on the basis of economic programmes. Through Deval's method the Harijans are now economically self-reliant and insist on being treated with respect and dignity. This has convinced most of the caste Hindus that the Harijans are in no way inferior to them. However Deval's success was due to the social and economic prestige enjoyed by him, his strong motivation, technical expertise, the outside support he could muster, as well as favourable natural conditions and favourable infrastructure. The effort to build bridges between different untouchable castes on the one hand, and between untouchables and the caste Hindus on the other, was attended by limited success. It may not be possible to replicate the success in places where such conditions do not obtain.

The experience in Mhaisal raises certain crucial issues. It relates to the linkages between constructive work carried on in isolated pockets and the more militant movements for the emancipation of the oppressed classes.

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The author feels that militant agitation, based on mass struggles, will be considerably strengthened by such constructive development efforts, while the militant movements peter out after some time. The constructive work can be carried on much longer. However constructive work lacks militancy and is slow in rousing awareness. Thus both need the support of each other and the two efforts must go hand in hand. There is another issue to which attention has been drawn by Prof. Dandekar in his foreword to the book; this is how to help the poor and the disadvantaged without demoralising them in the process. The ultimate success of voluntary constructive work is in helping the poor to manage their own affairs and make them stand on their feet. These are important messages for those involved in voluntary action in the field of scheduled caste development.

A.N. Sinha Institute of Social Sciences, Patna. SACHCHIDANANDA

RAM AVTAR SHARMA (*Ed.*) : Justice and Social Order in India. Intellectual Book Corner, New Delhi, 1984, xv, 432 p., Rs. 200.

THE volume contains 17 articles, besides the Introduction by the editor, by some well-known authors on different aspects of administration of justice in India, pattern of functioning of the Supreme Court and the High Courts and their impact on social and economic changes in the country. According to the editor himself, the issues raised in this volume revolve mainly round the Indian Judiciary and its role in administration of justice.

The very first article, by Derrett, raises the crucial question whether the common law pattern of jurisprudence and administration of justice, which has been continued in India even after the attainment of independence, suits the genius and cultural traditions of the people. It is really strange that India should have done so even though the Lord Chancellor of England had the following to say about it in the very country in which the system had originated and developed :

> I believe it is only because the subject is so obscure and so little understood by anybody outside the profession that the thing is not a crying scandal. . . . (House of Lords Debates, Vol. 402. c. 1067).

While addressing the Progressive Law Association in Pune on 11 February 1985, Justice P.N. Bhagwati is reported to have said that unless the present legal system in India is changed, it will perish. (*The Pioneer*, 12 February 1985, p. 4, c. 8). The author has therefore recommended in his article that at least at the grassroots level justice should be based on

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consensus as had been the mode of its dispensation in ancient India.

A large number of articles that follow deal with the different attitudes of the Supreme Court to the relationship between the fundamental rights and the directive principles of state policy contained in the Constitution of India. It has been pointed out that the Supreme Court has not been able to give to the directive principles the importance which they deserve. According to Mool Chand Sharma, "The individual rights at the microlevel cannot be magnified to interfere and impede the acceleration of macro-directs and dynamics, otherwise the dynamism of Indian people, moving forward as a nation, to complete the unfinished revolution will be lost."

Some authors have highlighted the changing attitudes and stances of the Supreme Court of India towards the real thrust and meanings of fundamental rights and their effect on the powers of the legislatures, including the Parliament. They have discussed a number of leading cases decided by the Supreme Court of India like those of Golak Nath, Kesavanand Bharati, R.C. Cooper (generally known as the Bank Nationalisation Case), Shukla (known as the Habeas Corpus Case), Menaka Gandhi, and the like. In the course of such discussions the impact of the background and individual philosophies of judges, the selection of benches by the Chief Justice to dispose of specific important cases and the fact that the Chief Justice has seldom been in a minority in benches over which he has presided have been critically examined. Other articles deal with the independence of the Judiciary, the system of transfer of judges of the High Courts and the differences among Judges on this score, encouragement of public interest litigation by the Supreme Court, treatment by the Supreme Court of even letters addressed to its judges by the people as writ petitions, the problems of arrears with the Supreme Court and the High Courts, the procedural circumlocutions which are taken advantage of by counsel to delay justice and the methods of recruitment of judges at all levels of the Judiciary. In this way the volume deals with almost all the important aspects of administration of justice in India at different levels.

However, two aspects of judicial administration in India, though touched upon by some authors, have not been discussed as fully as they deserve. One is the need for the constitution of a separate Constitutional Court in India as recommended some time ago by the Law Commission of India. The second is the very legality and desirability of the Supreme Court of India working in benches instead of working as one whole body as is the case in the United States, Canada and Australia. The Constitution of India, by omitting the provisions of Section 214 (3) of the Government of India Act of 1935 definitely did not intend that the Chief Justice of India should have the power of selecting judges to form benches to deal with questions coming up before the Supreme Court. Article 127 of the Constitution of India requires the Supreme Court to lay down for its sittings the minimum number of judges who will form a quorum, meaning thereby

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that the Court would act as one single body. Additionally, this Article also enables the Supreme Court's Chief Justice to appoint temporarily, to constitute a quorum, qualified persons to sit as its judges when there is no judge of the Court to complete the quorum. This provision was not present in the Government of India Act of 1935 and was newly inserted in the Constitution. Article 145 (2) of the Constitution of India does empower the Supreme Court to fix the minimum number of judges who shall sit for any purpose and provide for the powers of single judges and division courts, but minimum does not mean maximum and fixing of a minimum only means that for different purposes different quorums can be laid down, subject to the quorum of minimum number laid down by Clause (3) of this Article for purposes mentioned therein. The various articles of the Constitution lay down the powers, jurisdictions and procedures of the Court as a single body and do not confer any powers of jurisdiction on division courts or single judges. Thus while single judges or division courts can perform some subordinate preliminary functions, the constitutional powers and jurisdictions have to be exercised by the Supreme Court as a whole and not in batches.

As such, the very discussion of what the Supreme Court has decided in individual cases becomes irrelevant, because in most of the cases, barring those few in which the whole Court has sat and decided, it cannot be said that the decisions would have been the same if all the judges had been enabled to take part in hearing and deciding such cases. What is more, even if it is assumed that the Supreme Court has the power to confer on part of it the powers of the Court as a whole, it has not at all constituted any division court, as the expression is understood in the common law and has been practised in England where the various divisions of the High Court consist of judges allotted to them permanently and of a President of each division court without whose consent no judges can be moved from one division to the other by the Lord Chancellor even temporarily to hear a case.

It is perhaps to remove this state of affairs that the 95th Report of the Law Commission of India has recommended permanent constitution of divisions in the Supreme Court instead of leaving it to the Chief Justice to move judges from bench to bench. Many authors in this volume have commented on the influence which the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court is capable of wielding and seems to have wielded in constituting benches for hearing specific cases, specially those involving important questions as to the interpretation of the Constitution of India. Amiya K. Chaudhari has observed about Justice Subba Rao that he had been in the minority more often than any other judge in the history of the Supreme Court but as soon as he became the Chief Justice he never found it necessary to write a dissenting judgment.

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However, the volume throws ample light on a number of burning problems connected with the administration of justice in India at all levels, specially by the highest judicial organ, and suggests various changes in the outlook and the system of administration of justice to meet the requirements of the times.

Lucknow. P.S. PACHAURI

CHINNAPPA REDDY : Legal Theory and Social Change—The Indian Scene. Karnatak University, Dharwad, 1984, viii, 33p., Rs 5.

BREVITY is the soul of wit. This handy booklet of 33 pages packs in itself an illuminating review of the ups and down of the development of law in free India and the complex manner in which law and life have interacted upon each other. The booklet contains the two Babasaheb Ambedkar lectures delivered by Justice O. Chinnappa Reddy under the auspices of the Karnatak University, Dharwad, in December 1983. Dr. Ambedkar himself had realised the contradictions between the values enshrined in the Constitution, of which he was the principal architect, and the realities of life, particularly the class and the caste conflicts in India. Justice Chinnappa Reddy appropriately quotes from Dr. Ambedkar's final speech for the adoption of the Constitution. Dr. Ambedkar eloquently expressed the contradictions thus: "On the 26 January 1950, we are going to enter into a life of contradictions. In politics we will have equality and in social and economic life, we will have inequality. In politics, we will be recognising the principle of one man one vote and one vote one value. In our social and economic life, we shall by reason of our social and economic structure, continue to deny the principle of one man on value. How long shall we continue to live this life of contradictions?"

Justice Chinnappa Reddy tries to point out the role of law in bringing to an end what Dr. Ambedkar called "this life of contradictions." For Justice Reddy societal development is inevitably through class struggles and law itself is a reflector and often an instrument of class struggle. Justice Reddy's attempt is to "investigate and find out the inter-relationship between social struggle and legal change, with particular reference to the Indian scene, and to explore and discover if there is any legal theory which adequately explains the revolutionary process, which transforms legal ideology as society transforms itself." Though, understandably Justice Reddy cannot discharge such a stupendous task in the course of two short lectures, he has underlined the facts of the development of law as made by Parliment and as interpreted by the Supreme Court of India which can give the serious student the necessary tools for evolving an ade-

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quate theory which not only explains the past and the present but will help the evolution of the future. Such a theory has necessarily to draw inspiration from Marxism and also make the best possible use of the progressive aspects of various theories of law as the Natural Law Theory and the Sociological Theory of Law. Justice Reddy briefly examines the traditional schools of legal theory and rightly concludes that, "none of them adequately explains or even attempts to explain the historical and revolutionary process by which a system of social relations is overthrown and is replaced by another system" and that "none, explains the role of legal ideology in the revolutionary transformation of society and conversely the transformation of legal ideology by the changing structure of social relations."

The rapid overview which Justice Reddy takes of the contradictory pulls and pushes of social development in India and their impact on law, and the impact in turn of law on the social reality, is brilliant. The Indian bourgeoisie was a revolutionary force against imperialism and feudalism. The present super-structure of law has been evolved by the Indian bourgeoisie for fulfilling its class objectives. No wonder the Indian Constitution is a "curious amalgam of fundamental rights which are justiciable and directive principles which are not justiciable." While laying down the revolutionary potential of fundamental rights, as Justice Reddy observes, "the bourgeoisie was careful enough to forge armour for their protection; (i) by subjecting some of the freedoms to reasonable restrictions; (ii) by including the right to property among the fundamental rights; (iii) by providing for Preventive Detention and (iv) by relegating rights of great importance such as the right to work, the right to an adequate means of livelihood, the right to a living wage, the right to equal pay, the right to share the material resources of the community, the right to easy access to justice and so on to the category of the directive principles which could not been forced in a court of law." Justice Reddy refers to a large number of decisions of the Supreme Court to show how the class interests of the bourgeoisie have been protected by the court and how the oppressed and downtrodden have also used the chinks in the armoury of the bourgeois law to advance the forces of social change. An instance is the fact that the right to property has been jealously guarded and upheld both when it was a fundamental right as well as when it was not, and paradoxically, as Justice Reddy observes, it was on the basis of the right to property that the class III and class IV employees of the Life Insurance Corporation of India succeeded in getting the bonus due to them in the case of Madan Mohan Pathak V. Life Insurance Corporation of India despite an attempt by legislation to deny to the workers what had already accrued to them.

Though packed with weighty observations about law and the social reality in free India, the book is eminently readable. Justice Reddy has a style which is direct and effective. Thank God that Justice Reddy is not

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one of those who makes difficult things more difficult by deliberately choosing a complicated and learned style.

New Delhi. M.L. KHATTAR

DAVID PEARL : Interpersonal Conflict of Laws in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. Stevens and Sons, London, 1981, xxviii, 176 p., Rs. 50.

THE existence of personal laws in this country is the result of historic necessity and the British policy pursued during the last century; whereas the emergence of Hindu and Muslim laws was the outcome of historic compulsions, the introduction of Christian and Parsi laws (thank God it stopped there !) was due to the policy adopted by the British in this subcontinent.[1] It is but natural in a pluralistic society like India that individuals of different religious persuasions get involved in situations that generate legal problems. While the problems in most of the areas can be resolved by the application of general law, the family relations continue to be governed by personal laws. Indeed, we should be grateful to the British for not retaining the traditional Hindu and Muslim laws of contracts and crimes and thus adding further to the mosaic or existing complexities It is a matter of common knowledge that the provisions of the various personal laws based on differing value-preferences, can hardly provide satisfactory solutions to thorny conflicts, particularly on account of their exclusive approach. We are not sanguine enough to agree with Justice Hidayatullah when he observes in the foreword (p. viii);

> Courts in India have not understood the extent to which one legal system must yield to another. Judges with a bent for reform have shown preferences—which is not the right approach. The correct approach is *to discover* which set of rules will prevail . If only the right law is left to furnish the answer, the conflict ceases to exist.

Indeed, the discovery of the right law will continue to be elusive so long as the personal laws continue in the present form and the Uniform Civil Code remains a chimera. The brilliant, but equally convincing, judgements of Ormond J. in *Ayesha Bibi v Subodh Chandra Chakravarti*[2] and Chakravarti J. in *Rakcya Bibi v Anil Kumar Mukherji*,[3] presenting diamterically opposite stand points in an important area of family relations, fortify our view.

The book under review, a revised version of the Ph.D. thesis which the author submitted to the Cambridge University in 1971, is a signal contribution in the field of conflict of personal laws,[4] which have not received

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due attention so far. Though the title of the book gives an impression that it is a comprehensive study of the personal law conflicts in this sub-continent, it is, however, a study of personal law conflicts keeping mainly Muslim law in perspective. The author has posed the various facets of the conflicts in ten chapters along with the case law arising in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. However, the author has not examined the various ramifications of the conflicts-problem fully. In fact, the readers perceive the disproportionate apportionment of space for the treatment of various topics. For instance, the author has devoted nearly fifty pages of the book (out of 163 pages) for dealing with the historical background and the future of personal laws in the sub-continent. It is true that the author has drawn some interesting materials from Roman and Greek sources for tracing the concept of personal law which indeed was inaccessible to the scholars of personal laws in this country. However, a discerning reader feels that the discussion has taken a disproportionately large space at the expense of the main theme. Perhaps, it may be due to the dilemma an author faces while adapting a research work into a book of practical utility.

The usefulness of the book would have been enhanced if the author had adopted a topical classification and then analysed the provisions of the law seriatum personal law-wise and examined them under different permutations and combinations. For instance, the validity of inter-religious marriages among Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Parsis could have been considered at one place or in one chapter. The inter-religious marriages, particularly between Hindus and Christians taking place in large numbers in South India under Hindu customary rites, have been causing considerable difficulty when their validity is challenged. In fact, the author has noticed the awkward provision of the Christian Law in this regard (pp. 70, 100), and has rightly questioned the correctness of that statutory provision. However, one feels that the author could have devoted more space for analysing the various ramifications of the problem[5] and suggest a way out of it. On the whole, this small book is a scholarly contribution in this less explored area and the author deserves to be congratulated for his lucid style in handling the topic.

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B.N. SAMPATH

REFERENCES

1 We have deliberately omitted another personal law, namely, the Jewish Law which governs the minuscule Jewish community. Though theoretically conflicts between Jewish and other personal laws may arise, it has hardly created any serious problem worth the name.

2 (1945) 2 Cal. 405

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3 (1948) 2 Cal. 119.

4 The reviewer is not happy with the expression—interpersonal conflict of laws. Once the reviewer found to his chagrin that the title of his paper had been modified by the editor without consulting him. See *Conversion and Inter-Personal Conflict of Laws in Islamic Law in Modern India*, 1972, (p. 128), for the expression "conflict of laws" which has acquired semantically a different meaning in the legal world. The serious study made by the author in the field of persoxnal laws may be mistaken for a work in the area of private International Law and may escape the notice of many. Of course, a discerning reader finds a good number of reasons given by the author for using this expression.

5 The reviewer has in his mind the analysis adopted by Dr. P.C. Bedwa in handling this topic. See P.C. Bedwa, "Conversion of a non-Muslim into Islam and Interpersonal Law Conflicts with Special Reference to Marital Relations" (1975) 17 J.I.L.I. 410-432. This article has escaped the notice of the learned author.

UNTO TAHTINEN : Non-Violent Theories of Punishment : Indian and Western. Motilal Benarsidas, New Delhi, 1983, 148 p. Rs. 90.

NON-VIOLENT Theories of Punishment - Indian and Western by Unto Tahtinen deals with the problem as to what is the morally right way of treating legal offenders. The author is a University Reader in Finland. He has been researching on the ancient Indian theories of punishment and expiation in the Banaras Hindu University and has also been working on the subject in the University of Toronto.

The author gives us the Indian theories of punishment starting right from the *Rigveda* and tells us of the approach which was adopted in the matter by our ancient law givers. Punishment involved not merely penal consequences for non-transgression of *Dharma ;* it was also intended to restrain *Adharma*. In other words it was not merely for maintenance of law but also for preventing violation of laws. One of the highest duties of a king was the protection of the good people and control of the criminals. The three aspects of punishments were retribution, protection and expiation. Retribution meant repayment or response which the community felt the offender deserved to get. Protection meant protection of the different functions of society and included deterrence also. The third aspect expiation or *prayascitta* which aimed at reformation through self purification was given considerable importance.

The normal concept of punishment is reciprocation of criminal violence with punitive violence, of one injury with another. The author accordingly reiterates what was said by Bentham that all punishment is mischief and evil. Previously, as pointed out by the author, the offender was treated by society as an enemy or outlaw, no longer an object of moral obligation and he lost his value as a person. Today the law-breaker is looked upon as one of the ordinary citizens and, according to the author, the problem

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is how to help him to find and keep his right place amongst his fellow men. Punishment, he states, too, can be based on general moral rules applicable universally and equally to human-beings. The author points out that the violent theories of punishment include : (1) the traditiona retributive theory in the sense that punishment is an injury for an injury ; (2) the traditional deterrent theory believing in the deterrence of potential offenders by threat of injury ; (3) the correctional theory, involving hurtful methods and (4) the incapacitative measures, which although not "punishment" at all, has affinity to this group not so much in expressed intention but because of the nature of the practically available compulsory measures.

The non-violent theories of punishment, in the words of the author, "include retribution in two senses of the word : (1) as an expression of social disapproval for the mischief done and wrong done, or censure, and (2) as reparation for the mischief done, if the measure is carried out within certain practical limits. Then, (3) deterrence in the sense of a practical consequence of punishment may be understood to belong to this group of punishments. (4) Lastly, there is the integration theory or facilitation carried out in society and by society."

The author concludes that it seems doubtful whether any amount of injury inflicted deliberately and by choice can have a positive moral function. On the other hand, if punishment were non-violent by nature and thus in conformity with a moral norm of very central significance, it would very likely exercise an increasingly humanizing and socializing influence on people at large. It may be questionable in the opinion of the author, to use the term "moralizing" with reference to the criminal law as long as it is violent by nature, but in so far as it approaches the non-violent ideal it may have an increasing moralizing potential.

The ultimate criterion of justice, it is said, is in the civilizing influence of the system taken as a whole. Non-violent punishment, the author finally asserts, seems to have more civilizing and moralising influence on society as a whole than violent punishment.

The author has been moving more or less on a purely theoretical plane. His views are not likely to gain credence or carry conviction with those who have to deal with crime and criminals in real life. The book is a collection of the views of a large number of writers and social scientists. Many of the views, however, cut into each other. One is also sometimes at a loss to know as to how the author arrives at some of his conclusions from the material collected. There can, however, be no doubt that he has taken considerable pains as a research scholar and has dealt with the subject of punishment from a new angle.

New Delhi. H. R. KHANNA

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INDIAN BOOKS OF THE QUARTER

By Ashok Jambhekar

The object of this feature is to offer, every quarter, scholars and students as well as libraries, a compact bibliography of such current Indian Publications in the field of social sciences as are received from publishers, but not reviewed in this journal. While no claim is made to exhaustiveness, it is hoped that this section, together with the Review Section of this journal, does list publications of importance, useful for libraries and research workers in the social sciences.

ATTARCHAND *Non-aligned Nations' Arms Race and Disarmament : A Study of the Nuclear Weapons, Indian Ocean Peace, Detente and the Role of the Non-aligned Nations in the United Nations.* UDH Publishers, Delhi, 1983. xliv, 373 p., Rs. 150.

This study discusses the contributions of non-aligned nations to transform reflections on disarmament into a people's movement, to *detente* and world peace, to the process of halting the arms race and peaceful settlement of disputes and crisis in the world. It also discusses efforts made by non-aligned nations for eliminating military activities in the Indian Ocean and turning it into a "zone of peace" and for strengthening the United Nations. It is an informative study and provides documents relating to the NAM and world issues covering the period 1961-1983.

ATTARCHAND *Non-aligned Solidarity and National Security.* UDH Publishers, Delhi, 1983, xxxii, 346 p., Rs. 150.

Half of the book is devoted to the principles and objectives of non-alignment in the context of solidarity and security, cold war, apartheid and racial discrimination, imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, liberation movements, new international information order and resolution of disputes. It also discusses internal contradictions within the non-alignment movement. The other half of the book provides selected documents, speeches and messages through 1961-1983, related to the issues discussed in the book.

ATTARCHAND *World Energy Order 1924-1983.* Academic Publications, Delhi, 1983, xx, 283 p., Rs. 240.

The documentary survey takes into account nearly all aspects of energy arranged under about seventy subject headings. The author's analysis of these aspects makes it interesting, useful, and a basic reference work on the subject.

BANNERJEA, Benoyendra Nath *Men and Events : A Witness Records.* Sujata, Calcutta, 1983. 91 p., Rs. 70.

Reminiscences of a former Secretary of the West Bengal Public Service Commission and an UN expert in Public Administration. The author describes his experiences and work, important Indian and foreign political leaders, scholars academicians, etc., with whom he came in contact during the tenure of his illustrious career.

FRIES, Yvonne and Thomas BIBIN, *The Undesirables : The Expatriation of the Tamil People "of Recent Indian Origin" from the Plantations in Sri Lanka to India.* K.P Bagchi & Co., Calcutta, 1984, 253 p., Rs. 100.

The study deals with the Tamils of the plantations in Sri Lanka and their expulsion to India. It gives the political and economic background to their expatriation illustrated by numerous quotations and life stories of men and women who

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are victims of continuous human rights violations. The study presents four main reports on rehabilitation namely : Coordinating Secretariat for Plantation Areas (CSPA) Report 1976 ; United Front Federation for Repatriates (UFFR) Annual Reports 1978 and 1979 ; Federation of Organisations Working for Repatriates (FOWR) Report 1979 ; and Centre for Research on New International Economic Oderr (CRNIEO) Report 1980. Important related documents are included in the Appendix.

GUPTA, Ram Chandra *Sri Krishna : (A Socio-Political and Philosophical Study)*. B.R. Publishing Corporation, Delhi, 1984, xiv, 188 p., Rs. 125.

The author in this well-researched book presents a comprehensive and objective analysis of the contribution of Sri Krishna to Indian philosophy and His views on society, state, religion, peace and war and the philosophy of *nishkamkarma* preached by him in the Bhagwad Gita. Extensive use of the *Mahabharata* (original as well as P. Lal's translation into English), the *Bhagwad Gita*, the *Bhagavata Purana*, *The Cultural Heritage of India* (Vols 1 and 2), *Harivamsa*, *Dharma Sutra*, *Chandogya Upanisad*, *Isaupanisad*, Tilak's *Gita Rahasya*, and Satvalekar's *Gita Ka Rajkiya Tattavalochana* has been made by the author in preparation of the text.

KRISHNA RAO, Y. V. etc. (*Eds.*) *Peasant Farming and Growth of Capitalism in Indian Agriculture*. Visaalandhra Publishing House, Vijayawada, 1984, xxxviii, 440p., Rs. 150.

Collection of papers presented at a seminar organised by the Andhra Pradesh Ryotu Sangham from 10 to 12 September 1982. The seminar papers and discussions focus on the post-independence agrarian class structure, including the growth of agricultural labourers and the extent of their proletarianisation; trends in commercialisation of agriculture and the nature and spread of the green revolution and their impact on the patterns of income distribution; growth of agrarian capitalism and inter-sectoral resource flows; terms of trade between industry and agriculture and problems of remunerative prices for agricultural products.

NAYANATARA, S. *Education in a Rural Environment*. Ashish Publishing House New Delhi, 1985, xii, 144p., Rs. 100.

The problems of non-enrolment, irregular attendance and premature withdrawal of children from schools in rural areas of Tumkur district in Karnataka are discussed in this study. It highlights the practical measures to overcome the educational problems and suggests a non-formal educational approach for accelerating the process of universalisation of primary education.

PARVATHAMMA, C. *Employment Problems of University Graduates*. Ashish Publishing House, New Delhi 1984, XV, 163p., Rs. 100.

The study is based on a 3 per cent sample of undergraduate and post-graduate students in the various faculties of the Bangalore, Mysore, Karnataka and Agricultural Universities in Karnataka state. It deals with students' views on the relationship between formal education and unemployment, their attitudes towards the causes of general and educated unemployment, and job preferences and their relationship to the courses of study. It further discusses the effects of unemployment on the individual, his family and community, and the remedies offered by the students for solving unemployment. Although the study was completed ten years ago yet it holds good in the field of social investigation regarding the economic problems of unemployment and higher education.

PARVATHAMMA, C. and SATYANARAYANA, *New Horizons and Scheduled Castes*. Ashish Publishing House, New Delhi, 1984, xiv, 184p., Rs. 100.

Indian Council of Social Science Research-sponsored study reviews the changing social, economic and educational status of the Scheduled Castes during

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the last three decades. It attempts to ascertain success or failure of the government programmes meant for the benefit of the Scheduled Castes and not only investigates the problems of college students but also measures how the policy of protective discrimination affected the transformations. It presents a sociological approach to the problems of Scheduled Caste students in higher education based on reports submitted by over 250 Scheduled Caste college students in Karnataka state, regarding their experiences as students, their family background, economic conditions and social status, educational, occupational and marital aspirations and other factors that exercise control over individual progress.

PRAMANIK, Nimai *Gandhi and the Indian National Revolutionaries*. Sribhumi Publishing Co., Calcutta, 1984, viii 356p., Rs. 70.

Revised version of Ph. D. dissertation of the author. It is a well-documented study of the conflict-cooperation relationship between Gandhi and Indian National revolutionaries. The issues discussed to trace the relationship are the Non-Violent Non-Cooperation Movement 1920-22, Gandhi-Swarajist conflict, dominion status versus complete independence, second Satyagraha Movment, Round Table Conference and the release of all political prisoners. It also analyses the role of revolutionaries in the left-right tangle during 1938-40. The aims and objects, manifesto, programme of Hindustan Socialist Republican Association are given in the Appendix.

RAMAKRISHNA, H. T. *International Relations*. Lalitha Prakashana, Tiptur, 1982, ix, 405p., Rs. 50.

Textbook meant for graduate and post-graduate students of Indian universities.

SEETHARAMU, A.S. and M. D. USHADEVI, *Education in Rural Areas*. Ashish Publishing House, New Delhi, 1985, xi, 220p., Rs. 100.

Study on school drop-outs in rural areas covering 80 schools and 62 villages drawn from ten talukas of five different regions of Karnataka with contrasting rates of participation of children in schooling. School and non-school variables considered for the study include the socio-economic background of the families, demographic composition, parents' perceptions about children's learning, duties of children inside and outside the home, child labour, school equipment and other school facilities, building accommodation, curricular as well as co-curricular activities, teachers' strength, etc. The study suggests some policy imperatives for promoting participation of children in the schooling process and for improving the levels of welfare of children in rural areas.

VASUDEVA RAO, D. *Facets of Rural Development in India*. Ashish Publishing House, New Delhi, 1985, 162p.. Rs. 100.

Collection of author's articles published in *Indian Journal of Economics*, *Indian Journal of Regional Science*, Kurukshetra, *Eastern Economist* and papers presented at various conferences, on the concept of rural development, employment and farm studies with special reference to Karnataka.

VERMA, Rajendra *The Freedom Struggle in the Bhopal State : A Gambit in Transfer of Power* (*The Freedom Struggle in Princely States, V.I.*). Intellectual Publishing House, New Delhi, 1984. x, 196p.

Role of Bhopal State in the freedom struggle and during the transfer of power is discussed in this study based on documents available in the National Archives and Bhopal State Archives. The author has discussed in details events leading to the accession of the state to the Indian Union and post-accession political movements against the princely rule and for merger of the state with Madhya Bharat or Madhya Pradesh and the role of political parties in the merger movement culminating in taking over Bhopal as Chief Commissioner's province by the Government of India.

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UNESCO—PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

By T. N. KAUL

As World War II ended, intellectuals and leaders of various countries started thinking seriously, analysing and trying to understand the causes of war and devising ways and means of removing such causes to ensure peace throughout the world. The United Nations Organisation was set up in 1945 as a result of these deliberations and consultations. Although the United Nations Charter proclaimed its lofty ideals and the hopes and aspirations of mankind "to remove the scourge of war," the machinery that was set up by the United Nations to achieve this objective was a compromise between the conflicting interests, ideas and ideologies represented by the erstwhile allies. Their unity and solidarity during World War II was too fragile to withstand the pulls and pressures that emerged at the end of the war and even during the last months of the war.

The Security Council of the United Nations was an attempt to ensure peace throughout the world on the basis of unanimity between the so-called five great powers whose agreement was essential under the U.N. Charter to make any resolution of the Security Council effective and binding. This gave rise to what is popularly called the exercise of 'veto' by the great powers when any one of them did not like a particular resolution of the Security Council. The role of the General Assembly was that of moulding and creating public opinion throughout the world in favour of peace, international understanding and cooperation in order to exercise pressure on the Security Council and other organs of the United Nations. However, the resolutions passed by the General Assembly were only of a recommendatory, and not a mandatory character and therefore not legally binding on any member of the Organization. All the same, they did help in ventilating the feelings and apprehensions of the vast majority of people throughout the world and, in particular, of the newly independent and developing countries which emerged after World War II as sovereign politically independent states and therefore entitled to membership of the United Nations.

Even at the very inception of the United Nations, the need was felt by many leaders and intellectuals for a seperate autonomous body, as an agency of the United Nations Organization, to promote international understanding and cooperation specially in the fields of

*Mr. Kaul is Member of the UNESCO Executive Board.

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education, science, culture and communication. Thus came into existence UNESCO, i.e. the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, in 1946. The Preamble of its constitution rightly said "as wars are bred in the mind of man, it is there that the defence of peace must be constructed."

This approach was slightly different from that of the UNO as it was directed more towards changing the hearts and minds of humanity and its leaders than towards a compromise between the different social, political and economic ideologies which often confilicted with one another. The aim of UNESCO was to find the greatest possible common factor between these seemingly conflicting ideas and ideologies, particularly in the fields of education, science and culture where the need for international understanding and cooperation was felt even more than in other fields. Also the possibility of fruitful cooperation in these fields, by creating and promoting international cooperation and understanding through better communication, was felt to be far greater than in the field of politics where short-term and narrow considerations often led to disagreement and exercise of veto by one great power or another. It was perhaps for this reason that the constitution of UNESCO did not provide for unanimity among the great powers as a pre-condition for any effective agreement or resolution.

The so-called five great powers were not automatically made members of the Executive Board which was the body elected by the General Conference of UNESCO to supervise and implement the rational execution of programmes approved by the Conference. No single power, however great politically or economically, could therefore exercise the right of so-called veto in UNESCO. Decisions of this body were taken mostly by consensus and where consensus was not possible, by a majority vote.

PROBLEMS OF ORGANIZATION

At the time of its inception, UNESCO had only 50 odd member-states, as the process of de-colonisation had not yet been accelerated. However, as this process got into full swing in the mid-fifties and sixties, the membership of UNESCO, like that of UNO, increased to over 100. By 1983, this membership increased to 161 and included practically all the states that had gained political independence.

Bane of Regionalism cum Political-Cultural Affinities

The organisation of UNESCO, however, suffered from the narrow concept of regionalism or groupism which developed as time went on. Thus were formed six main groups partly based on geographic location and partly on poltical-cum-cultural affinities. Thus in Group I, USA and

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Canada joined the NATO countries in Western Europe along with Australia and New Zealand. The Caribbean countries were joined together with the Latin American (Group III) countries. Group II consisted of the socialist countries in Eastern Europe. Group IV comprised the Asia Pacific group of countries, including Japan, China, India, Mongolia, Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, the ASEAN, Pakistan, Afganistan, Iran, Fiji, Tonga, and others. In Group V were lumped together the African countries as well as the Arab countries who formed a separate sub-group within the Group. Some of the Arab countries were located in North Africa while others, though lying in Asia, were put in Group V (Africa).

This grouping based partly on geographical considerations and partly on cultural and political affinities, was perhaps a result of the different political and ideological blocs that were emerging in the world It was also due in part to the need for greater solidarity and cooperation among and between the countries within each group as their problems were more similiar and interlinked than the problems of other countries. It was perhaps a necessary evil which has partly outlived its utility and needs to be reconsidered.

This is evident from the attempts by Australia and New Zealand to join the Asia Pacific Group. However, their request cannot be considered in isolation because it can have wider implications on other regions and groupings also. Unless Group I (North America and Western Europe) are prepared to surrender at least one seat to Group IV (Asia Pacific), the latter cannot merely increase its number without getting additional representation on the executive Board. Simiarly, the Arab countries which are located in Asia could also join the Asia Pacific Group instead of being put in the African Group V. The Caribbean countries are showing a tendency to either get increased representation in Group V or form a separate group by themselves. It is also possible that America and/or Canada, being geographically closer to Latin America and the Caribbean, may wish to join Group III at some stage. Also, the USSR, two-thirds of whose territory falls within Asia, could claim to join the Asia Pacific Group. The present grouping therefore is not absolutely logical on geographical considerations, nor is it based on purely economic or cultural considerations. For instance, Japan is one of the most developed countries and although it falls within Group IV (Asia Pacific) it often votes with Group I, most of whose members are developed and industrialised countries. While it would be desirable to analyse this problem from a global point of view, it would be setting a dangerous precedent if it was dealt with piece-meal and in an *ad-hoc* manner. Hence the need for discussion on a global basis to tackle this problem.

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Representation Anomalies

Another problem that arose in the mid-50's was due to the insistence of various governments to have the right to nominate people of their own choice for election to the Executive Board. Till 1954, members of the Executive Board were elected by the General Conference in their individual capacity, as eminent people representing various fields such as culture, education, science, etc. However, difficulties sometime arose when a particular member of the Executive Board did not necessarily reflect the views of the government of his country, which therefore wished to change or withdraw him. The Consititution was therefore amended in 1954 to enable various member states and their governments to nominate representatives of their own choice for election to the Executive Board. The present position is slightly anomalous because members of the Executive Board are nominated by their respective governments but have to be elected by the General Conference. They wear three caps simultaneously—representing (1) the General Conference of all the member states which elect them; (2) their respective governments who nominate them for election; and (3) their own individual selves as eminent people in various fields.

This is not an easy task and a member of the Executive Board has often to bear all the three considerations in mind and when he does not happen to agree with his government, which is sometimes the case, he says so plainly. This may lead to his withdrawal from the Board by his government, but such withdrawal cannot take place unless and until the Executive Board agrees to it. A few such cases have arisen in recent years but ultimately they have been amicably resolved by mutual agreement between the Board and the government concerned.

Need for Administrative Decentralisation

The General Conference is the sovereign body which meets once in two years in Paris or elsewhere and approves the programme and budget of UNESCO for the biennium. The Executive Board meets twice a year at the headquarters in Paris where the Secretariat is located. Its functions are to supervise the rational execution of the programme as approved by the General Conference. The Executive Board appoints various committees and commissions to carry out its functions, but they meet only during the sessions of the Executive Board and do not sit throughout the year. The third organ of the UNESCO is the Secretariat headed by the Director-General who is elected by the General Conference for six years and can be removed only by that body unless he wants to resign. Resignations have taken place in the past when the proposals put forward by the Director-General

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were not approved by the Executive Board and the General Conference. However, such cases are rare, and the Director-General abides by directives given by the General Conference and generally accepts the advice of the Executive Board. But the Director-General cannot be removed by the Executive Board but only by the General Conference.

The Director-General heads a staff of over 2,500 personnel, about one-third of them working in the various regional offices and in the field and two-thirds at headquarters. Criticism has of late been made against the Director-General and the Secretariat that the administration is top heavy and over-centralised. This is not the fault of the Director-General but is mainly due to the fact that most of the work has to be directed and controlled from headquarters and therefore the bulk of the senior staff members have to work there. However, of late, the need has been felt to decentralise the administration to the maximum extent possible without adversely affecting its efficiency. Various proposals have been made, discussed and approved by the Executive Board on the recommendations of the Temporary Committee which was appointed last year to suggest such measures. These included mainly :

(1) decentralisation, (2) delegation of powers and authority, (3) concentration of programmes, (4) priority between various programmes, (5) stepping up the process of recruitment in order to shorten the period involved for selecting the right people, (6) fair and equitable geographical distribution of the Secretariat posts to reduce the imbalances in the present set-up which is heavily weighted in favour of the developed Western countries, (7) to set up a central evaluation unit to assess the performance of the Secretariat and make suitable recommendations.

Need for Rationalisation and Economy of Programmes

The above measures would have been desirable in any case but they became urgent because of the withdrawal of the USA as from 1 January 1985, and the threatened withdrawal by UK, Singapore and a few other countries as from January 1986. The US withdrawal resulted in a shortfall of 48 million dollars representing 25 per cent of the budget which is the United States[1] contribution. This necessitated all possible economies and rationalisation of programmes.

While the US withdrawal was unfortunate and could have an adverse effect on the multifarious activities of UNESCO, the threatened withdrawal of UK is even more serious because if it snowballs then it will mean the beginning of the end of international cooperation and of the universal character of UNESCO and the UN system itself.

The Executive Board of UNESCO has gone to the farthest limit possible to meet the objections of the USA and UK. So much reform

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has never been effected in the organisation of UNESCO or any other UN agency as has been approved by the UNESCO Executive Board during the last one or two years. Instead of appreciating this, some ruling circles in USA and UK are still not cooperating with the UNESCO. The reason for this seems to be more political than anything else. The United States feels that because it contributes 25 per cent of the budget, it should have a dominant voice in the decisions of all international organisations. It has gone to the extent of even asking for a weighted vote according to contributions paid by each member state instead of accepting the principle of one member one vote. International cooperation between sovereign member states cannot be based either on the basis of contributions or the maxim : "he who pays the piper calls the tune." It would require an amendment in the Constitution of UNESCO which would be against the very fundamental principle of the sovereign equality of nations.

Political Divisions Emerge

The real reason for this change in the attitude of the United States and UK seems to be their failure in many cases to win over the large majority of the UNESCO member-states to their point of view. In the late 40s and 50s, the Western developed countries often succeeded in getting a majority in favour of their point of view because the number of members from the Third World was small. Since the Third World forms more than two-thirds of the membership of both the United Nations and UNESCO at present, the Western developed countries often find themselves in a small minority, particularly where such questions as *apartheid* in South Africa, the illegal occupation of Arab territories in Palestine and its adverse effects on education and cultural development of the Palestinian people, are raised. The West often charges that UNESCO is being politicised. This charge can be laid at the door of some of the Western countries themselves who are politicising issues by not accepting the fundamental right of people to self-determination and equality, and their right to education, food, culture, etc. The West often charges that UNESCO is politicising even the issue of peace. This is a charge that again cannot be substantiated. Peace is vital to all development and the constitution of UNESCO emphasizes peace and international cooperation and understanding. Without peace and international cooperation there can be no progress in the fields of education, science, culture and communications.

APPRAISAL OF PROSPECTS

The consequences of war, particularly in the thermo-nuclear age of today, are of vital concern to all mankind. The causes of war must be

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studied, analysed and proper remedies suggested. It is necessary to educate world public opinion about the cause of war and the consequences of a nuclear war in particular. This is a proper task for UNESCO and within its field of competence. But technical details on disarmament, etc. are within the scope of the Disarmament Committee of the UNO and are not dealt with by UNESCO.

UNESCO must perform its fundamental task of educating world public opinion and changing the hearts and minds of men and women in order to build the defences of peace. The world is becoming more and more interdependent and any crisis or conflict in one part of the world is likely to affect the rest of the world. Unless the nuclear armaments race is halted and reversed, the future of mankind is doomed. UNESCO has therefore an important role to play in this regard, particularly in the field of education for peace and disarmament.

India is a founding member both of the United Nations as well as UNESCO. As a founding member of the Non-Aligned Movement and its current Chairperson, India has a duty and responsibility to bring the problems of the Third World before all international bodies. India supports the concept of international understanding and cooperation and strengthening of the UN system. India also represents an important part of world culture and communication. It is a bridge of understanding and communication between East and West. India's continued membership of the Executive Board of UNESCO is not only necessary but vital in the interests of the Third World. India, like China, represents one-seventh of the world's population and also one of the most ancient cultures and civilisations. India owes it to itself and to the international community to play its full part in the deliberations of all international agencies including UNESCO. That is why India has always tried to send its most eminent representatives to UNESCO; Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar, Dr. Zakir Hussain and Smt. Indira Gandhi represented India in the UNESCO Executive Board. It is hoped that Sardar Swaran Singh, who has held important posts and assignments on behalf of India and represented it ably in international forums, will be duly elected by the General Conference at Sofia in November this year as India's representative on the Executive Board. As an ex-President of the Indian Council of World Affairs, it will be our proud privilege to have him represent India in this important body.

We hope UNESCO will be able to overcome its present crisis and help in moving forward to its goal of achieving a new International Communication and Cultural Order, removing illiteracy from the face of this earth, preventing the pollution of the environment and the atmosphere, and bringing about greater cooperation between the developing countries themselves and between them and the developed countries for a more equitable, fair and balanced flow and dissemination of information

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throughout the world. This is not possible unless the technological and other infrastructural facilities are made available on fair and equitable terms to all developing countries which lack them at present.

India can help train media representatives from the Third World and is already doing so in the Indian Institute of Mass Communication. India is also training over 40,000 students from the developing countries in various fields of social and human sciences, arts and humanities, medicine and engineering, etc.

UNESCO is "the Conscience of Mankind" as Jawaharlal Nehru said at the General Conference held in New Delhi in 1956. It is the think-tank of the UN system. It has a number programmes for research, study and reflection in fields which are of importance to the whole world. It has done excellent work in such fields as Man and the Biosphere (MAB) the World Hydrological and Geological Correlation, the Preservation of the Environment, use of land and water resources, prevention of desertification, to name only a few.

The programme for eradication of illiteracy and youth unemployment, raising the status of women, preservation and safeguard of the world's cultural heritage are some of the programmes of UNESCO which are well known throughout the world. The safeguarding of such monuments as Mohenjo Daro, Borobudur, Abu Simbal, etc., symbolises the effort of UNESCO in this regard. India has also proposed four sites to the world cultural heritage committee which are receiving consideration. However, the shortage of funds prevents UNESCO from doing as much as needs to be done in this regard.

What is not perhaps so well known is that UNESCO has prepared a medium term programme from 1984-89 which embodies important themes and subjects some of which are listed below :

1) Reflection on world problems and future oriented studies.
2) Education for all.
3) Communication in the service of man.
4) The formulation and application of education policies.
5) Education, training and society.
6) The sciences and their application to development.
7) Information systems and access to knowledge.
8) Principles, methods and strategies of action for development.
9) Science, technology and society.
10) The human environment and terrestrial and marine resources.
11) Culture and the future.
12) The elimination of prejudice, intolerance, racism and apartheid.
13) Peaee, international understanding, human rights and the rights of peoples.
14) The status of women.

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The developed countries, in general, and the United States and UK in particular, often trot out their objection to spending more money on many of these programmes and sub-programmes. Their argument is that the world is going through an economic and financial crisis and their governments cannot afford to meet any increase in expenditure. They have insisted during the last few years not only on zero rate of growth in real terms but even a negative rate of growth. This is not only disappointing, but most unjustified. The nuclear-weapon countries are spending over 650 billion dollars annually on nuclear armaments and research. The programme of UNESCO, as at present formulated, is only 374 million dollars. The developing countries and the USSR and France, who have suffered much more than the developed countries from the recent world economic situation, have come forward to meet the shortage caused by the US withdrawal. It is obvious that financial stringency is not the real cause for the withdrawal of America and the threatened withdrawal of UK. The real cause is their frustration at their inability to dominate the UN system and its agencies and their desire to force the majority of the countries who belong to the developing world to submit to their demands and wishes. As Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi said in his address to UNESCO, when he visited Paris in June this year, the attempt of the stronger and more developed countries to bend the developing countries to their own will cannot and must not succeed.

In the thermo-nuclear age of today the only hope for the survival of mankind is to promote peace through international cooperation and understanding. UNESCO'S record in this regard is second to none. As the "moral conscience of mankind" it is UNESCO's first and foremost duty to analyse and disseminate mutual understanding through development of education, science, culture and communications, first and foremost among the developing countries themselves, and between them and the developed world. At present 80 per cent of the flow of news in the world is controlled or dominated by hardly half a dozen news services and media networks of the developed Western countries. It is a paradox that even neighbouring countries in Africa, for instance, have to communicate with each other through the old metropolitan countries. What is more, the media representatives of the developed world who happen to be sent to the developing countries, do not bother to study the problems of the developing countries or understand the efforts they are making to solve them, but mainly highlight natural disasters, crimes, sex and the failures. In a country like India, for instance, where we have over 50 foreign correspondents, only one of them speaks any Indian language. How can they understand the real India by merely picking out extracts from our free English press-extracts which suit their pre-conceived notions ?

I have suggested in UNESCO that we should give facilities to the media representatives of the developed countries to learn our languages and to

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train them in such places as the Institute of Mass Communications in Delhi. It is only by mutual understanding and a free, balanced and greater flow of information that mutual understanding can be built up. However, it is necessary that developing countries must have the hardware as well as the software for training their own media men and women, to disseminate information in their own countries, in the developing world, and to the developed world. India is fortunate in having developed its own satellite, thanks to which it is able to reach over 80 per cent of the rural population through TV and 100 per cent of the population through the radio. However, such facilities are lacking in most other developing countries. It is time, therefore, that the developing countries pool together their resources and infrastructural facilities and the developed world agree to transfer equipment and technology in the field of communications to the developing countries on terms that are fair and equitable.

The Western media often charges UNESCO with curbing the freedom of the press. This is a totally unjustified charge. There is not a single resolution of UNESCO which has criticized freedom of the press. On the contrary, the International Programme for Development of Communications (IPDC) has stressed a greater, freer and better balanced flow of information, but the funds at its disposal are so limited that they are not able to meet even 10 per cent of the demands and requirements of the developing countries. India as Chairperson of the Non-aligned Movement has taken a lead in forming NAMEDIA. It is hoped that this body will be able to play a catalytic role in promoting greater, freer and more balanced flow of information among the developing countries and between them and the developed world.

The world is entering a stage when countries, big and small, strong and weak, are becomming more and more interdependent. No country in the world can afford to exist in isolation, splendid or otherwise. In the thermo-nuclear age of today what happens in one part of the world is likely to affect the other parts of the world. As Jawaharlal Nehru said many years ago, "Peace is said to be indivisible, so is prosperity, and so also is disaster on this one and only world of ours." It is well to remember these words because the world of today with 50 per cent of the total population living below the minimum standards of subsistence, with the other half of the world lolling in luxury, and one half of humankind not finding one square meal a day while the other half throws large goods stocks in the sea, cannot co-exist peacefully for long.

It is in the interest of the developed world to do everything possible to help fulfil the bare minimum requirements of the developing conntries, particularly in regard to food, clothing, education, housing, agriculture, industry, etc., by transferring their science and technology, their experience and knowledge to the poorer countries on a fair and equitable basis.

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UNESCO has done a lot in this regard so far, but could do much more if adequate funds were made available to it. At present the developed countries are getting more from UNESCO than giving to it—in the form of recruitment of personnel, participation by their seientists, academics and others in UNESCO Congresses, Workshops and Conferences. It is in their interest to strengthen and not to weaken UNESCO.

Rich or poor, UNESCO will continue to exist, no matter who stays in it or who withdraws. If there wasn't UNESCO in the world, one would need to be created. Let us, therefore, not destroy what we have created, but try to strengthen it. We must remember that the League of Nations met an unnatural and early death because it was dominated by the great powers. Let us not make the same mistake again and force the UN system to die an untimely death. It represents the hopes and aspirations of all mankind. We must all, both in the developed and the developing countries, make every effort possible to strengthen and not to weaken the UN system. Therein lies hope for the future, particularly in the thermonuclear world of today.

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UNESCO AND INDIA
FRUITFUL COOPERATION AND ABIDING FRIENDSHIP

By PREM KRIPAL*

THE United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) will complete forty years of its life on 4 November 1985. I have been fortunate in witnessing its inception in debates and consultations among the Allied Powers' Ministers of Education in war-battered London of 1945-46, and its birth in Paris in 1946 in the midst of the bright hopes and surging idealism. Since then I have been associated with UNESCO in different capacities, as national delegate, international civil servant, educator, national commission functionary and as a member and then Chairman of the Executive Board. It has been a marvellous experience of striving and learning from the early formative years of the world organization responsible for the difficult, vast and intangible fields of international cooperation and from its growing problems and opportunities which continue to unfold themselves in a world still struggling to be one.

Considering the unique character and objectives of UNESCO, it is not surprising that of all the organs of the United Nations UNESCO should have had a special appeal for the mind of new India, nurtured on the ideals of Gandhi and Nehru and the great struggle led by them. Ideas and urges contributing to the objectives of democracy, equality, synthesis of cultures, supremacy of moral and spiritual values, the pursuit of scientific objectivity and reason, as well as the ancient values of love and compassion, which were cherished by the leaders of modern India, were the same which lay at the heart of UNESCO's m ission. Their faith in the diffusion and improvement of education, in the harnessing of science and technology for economic development, and the use of cultural activities and media of communication for increasing mutual understanding and trust among diverse people and cultures, is also the mandate of UNESCO. It is, therefore, not surprising that in the formative years of the world's cultural organization, India should have played an active and conspicuous role in its development and also derived inspiration and assistance from it.

In the things of the mind and the spirit there is no limit to what people can share with each other. India has given as abundantly to UNESCO as it has received from it in the fields of education, science and culture, and both the giving and the receiving have strengthened international cooperation.

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UNESCO and the United Nations are what the world community of nations make of them, and it is in the action and commitment of its constituent units that the ultimate strength of the organisation resides. India's record in the formative years of UNESCO's development is creditable. Many things were attempted and achieved, but I shall mention only a few important aspects merely to indicate the range and nature of India's cooperation with UNESCO.

I
INDIA AND UNESCO'S EVOLVING MISSION

India sent to UNESCO's General Conference large and distinguished delegations which played a significant role in UNESCO's evolving mission and in the formulation of its rapidly expanding programmes and policies. We supported strongly the reconstruction of the educational systems of Europe and its cultural life which had been devastated during the Second World War. Our efforts were also directed to the liquidation of colonialism and racialism and the spread of freedom in dependent and subjugated terrritories. Special stress was laid on education for international understanding, and India developed a massive programme of associated schools under UNESCO's experimental programme. In 1960, after more than a decade of numerous proliferating activities, it was the joint initiative of the Indian and the United Kingdom delegations which led to a measure of concentration of UNESCO's effort by according an overriding priority to education. Earlier in 1956, at the Ninth Session of the General Conference held in New Delhi (the only time that the World Assembly met in Asia largely because of the leading role played by India, and especially Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan and Abul Kalam Azad), that UNESCO's major project for the mutual appreciation of eastern and western cultural values was launched. Indian historians collaborated in the preparation of the *Scientific and Cultutural History of Mankind*. The concepts of basic social education, evolved in India, exercised considerable influence over the development of UNESCO's own programmes of Fundamental Education and Functional Literacy. The Arid Zones Research Project was proposed by India and adopted by the General Conference. Eminent Indian scientist, the late Homi Bhabha presided over many distinguished gatherings of scientists and took India to the centre of the growing network of scientific cooperation. The programme for the application of science and technology to development found powerful support from Indian delegations. Indian specialists were prominent in the development of educational planning in different parts of the world, especially in Asia.

Two examples of India's faith in international cooperation, which also bring out the nature of its open democratic society in the Nehru era, deserve to be mentioned. Soon after Independence, the Government of

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India requested UNESCO to provide specialists from outside to study the internal tensions of Indian society, a step which probably has no precedent in any other part of the world. A distinguished group of social scientists studied the problems with objectivity, contributing to the development of methodology as well as the discovery of new data on social tensions In 1964, India's Education Minister, M.C. Chagla, appointed an Education Commission composed of Indian educationists, along with a few foreign specialists provided by UNESCO, to examine all aspects of Indian education. The Report of this Commission, the first international effort of massive dimensions, inspired improvements in the quality of education in several developing countries and India's example of including foreign specialists in a National Commission was followed by others.

The measure of India's interest in UNESCO is evident from the fact that two former Presidents of the Indian Union, S. Radhakrishnan and Zakir Hussain and the late Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, represented this country on its Executive Board in the formative years. UNESCO is the only organ of the United Nations in which India has retained a permanent place on the Governing Body and has virtually assumed the role of one of the major "cultural powers." India has also always been represented at the Supreme Steering Committee of the General Conference. UNESCO has honoured India by electing two Indians as Presidents of the General Conference and three Indian members of the Executive Board as its Chairmen. No other member state of UNESCO has had such distinction. UNESCO has drawn upon the services of Indian specialists in all fields; in 1970 India was the third largest supplier of experts rendering technical assistance to developing countries on behalf of UNESCO.

Over the years, India has received considerable technical and material assistance from UNESCO through its regular and extra-budgetary sources. Numerous projects have been launched, and some of them have achieved outstanding results. India asked for UNESCO's assistance mainly in the fields of science and technology. The Indian Institute of Technology in Bombay, which was launched and developed with UNESCO's assistance, is one of the best institutions of its kind in Asia. UNESCO has assisted centres of advanced study at Indian universities and in reorganising science teaching in secondary schools.

Among projects which have benefited from UNESCO's assistance are the Power Engineering Research Institute; Central Scientific Instruments Organisation; Refining and Petrochemical Division of the Indian Institute of Petroleum at Dehra Dun; Teacher training for the Engineering College at Warangal; National Institute of Foundry and Forge Technology at Ranchi; six Regional Colleges of Engineering; post-graduate agricultural education and research; television production and studio technical operation training centre, Poona, and post-graduate educational institute of

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engineers. UNESCO has also helped various programmes of book development. The Delhi Public Library was established as a joint UNESCO-India project. Indian classics have been translated and works of art reproduced and published in the UNESCO series. Recordings of Indian music have been popularised by the International Music Council. The Asian Theatre Institute, the Asian Institute of Educational Planning and Administration and the South Asia Science Cooperation Office in Delhi was established and operated with assistance from UNESCO. These examples show the nature and magnitude of UNESCO's cooperation; and behind each project it is not so much the financial resources as cooperative action and rare skills that have been of great value. Throughout the Nehru era there was no obsession with material aid to the exclusion of intellectual cooperation and ethical action, which always received high priority from the Indian Government and delegations.

Thus India has continued to be an active and prominent member of UNESCO. It has given to it its loyalty and commitment and received valuable aid for development. Ultimately, in the field of international cooperation, especially concerning things of the mind, what we give is even more important than what we receive. India has all along stroven to elevate the role of UNESCO in the family of the United Nations and thereby strengthen the forces of peace, cooperation and development. This cooperation between India and UNESCO has revealed new vistas and avenues. The concepts of education, development and humanism have undergone profound changes, thanks to UNESCO's action.

II

INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO UNESCO'S STRIVING FOR A NEW HUMANISM

To the founding fathers of UNESCO and the delegations of the 20 countries assembled in Paris in 1946, education was merely a restoration of all western-oriented systems and structures of formal schooling that had suffered the ravages of war and wanton destruction. The extension of these systems to other parts of the world was the prevailing mood. Today, thanks largely to UNESCO's efforts, the concept of education and its contents, methods and structures have undergone revolutionary change, posing new challenges and tasks to all societies who must find their own solutions in the context of their specific problems and conditions. Over the years, I have experienced the extension of education in time, space and content, and glimpsed the wonderful potentialities of life-long learning that are still to come in new forms and modalities. UNESCO has reflected on learning to be; to this we should now add the need of learning to become and the urge for learning to transcend. I hope that with our cultural tradition of the past and the new strivings and goals of national

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development, India will contribute significantly to the education of the future, to the being, the becoming and the transcending of man and his societies, through the richness of diversities reflecting the creative spiritl of man, towards a sense of universality.

The idea of development has been liberated from the blind imitation of western models and materialistic goals to a purposeful quest of quality of life from the real conditions and possibilities of each society and with the fullest mobilisation of its moral, material and spiritual resources. Nationa development has to be based upon active participation of all and to bring this about, education and communication have a crucial role. Modern science and technology can surely wipe out poverty; and the resources of the planet, both actual and potential, if wisely used, are ample and bountiful. UNESCO's ethical role in generating a new spirit of cooperation and a real commitment to the promotion of human rights and social justice holds the key to development. The quest for the quality of life, which is the essence of modern education and the distinctive mark of an education-oriented society offers new hope and opportunity to poor and materially deprived societies. With the right type of education, which includes non-verbal culture and traditional values, a developing society can attain the satisfaction, harmony and comprehension that may elude more prosperous and sophisticated communities, obsessed with acquisitive wealth and vulgar consumption. The dazzling achievements of man in outer space have to be matched now by an educational revolution affecting his inner space; a new union on science and spirituality is the main challenge posed to those who seek a great renewal of education. It is my ardent hope and my firm faith that India may contribute significantly to UNESCO's quest for a synthesis of science and culture and through such a convergence serve the cause of development and life's quality.

India has specially stressed and notably participated in UNESCO's continuing search for a true humanism that liberates and exalts the spirit of man and gives new meaning to man's eternal quest of the good, the true and the beautiful. To regulate the attainment and use of power by practice of human values and the protection of human dignity is the only way of escape from the tyranny of the impersonal mass of machine and bureaucratic organisation. The humanism of the future that recognises and respects the diversity of cultures within the universality of the human condition should be an important goal of UNESCO which has emerged clearly after more than three decades of search and tests. It has been my good fortune to serve the cause of education and culture in UNESCO and in my own country; in the course of this marvellous pursuit of the things of the mind and the spirit I have tasted the zest and elation that came from the impact of ideas, the fragrance of meeting some remarkable people around the world and the spice of struggle to achieve difficult and

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challenging tasks. In both success and failure it has been an exhilirating experience of learning and living. May we all continue to strive for the emerging humanism that enables and exalts the spirit of man in the ceaseless adventure of being, of becoming and of transcending.

III

APPRAISAL : CRISES MUST BE OVERCOME

With growing anxiety I have also noticed a recent trend in the decade of India's relations with UNESCO which needs to be watched and reversed. UNESCO has been increasingly dragged into political controversies, and the debates about the new world orders in the areas of economics and communications have been somewhat arid and bitterly acrimonious. To some extent this was inevitable as UNESCO could only reflect the state of the world in the ill-will and discord among nations. At the same time the world organisation became more bureaucratic in its functioning and more controversial in some of its policies and programmes. This unfortunate development was matched by the corresponding attitudes of member states who neglected cultural leaders and creative artists and confined their association with UNESCO to bureaucratic actions and channels. This is evident in the virtual fading out of the Indian National Commission for UNESCO. Governmental expenses over large official delegations and new bureaucratic modalities have increased appreciably, while India's moral influence upon the functioning of the World Organisation declined. In the process UNESCO's ethical action and its role of being the conscience of mankind, cherished by Jawaharlal Nehru has been undermined and its ideals and potentials receded from the vision of nations. It is now time to ponder over this unfortunate trend and try to reverse it. It is in the fruits of the mind and the spirit, and the dominance of ideas and moral values that UNESCO and its member states have to strive together in the pursuit of peace, development and human rights.

In the gathering confusion of thought and waning of faith that mark man's present predicament of grave threat to the very survival of humanity, let us derive hope and courage from the words of Pablo Neruda and Martin Luther King, who nobly served UNESCO's mission and ideals. Pablo Neruda, the Nobal Laureate, who was my colleague on UNESCO's Executive Board, wrote : "I want the great majority, the only majority, everyone, to be able to speak out, read, listen, thrive... I write knowing that the danger of the bomb hangs over all our heads, a nuclear catastrophe that would leave no one, nothing on this earth Well, that does not alter my hope. At this critical moment, in this flicker of anguish, we know that the true light wtll enter those eyes that

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are vigilant. We shall all understand one another. We shall advance together. And this hope cannot be crushed."

To this hope and faith of the poet, Martin Luther King brought his own dream of the future : "I have a dream that one day man will rise up and come to see that we are made to live together as brothers. I still have a dream today that one day justice will roll down like water, and righteousness like a mighty stream. I still have a dream today that one day war will come to an end, that men will beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks, that nations will no longer rise up against nations, neither will they wage war any more. I still have a dream today that one day the lamb and the lion will lie down together and every man will sit under his own vine and fig tree and none shall be afraid."

With a renewed faith and dedication to the mission of UNESCO the nations of the world and the explorers of the mind and the spirit of man can and, I believe, will succeed in overcoming the present state of crisis, threatening the universal character of the world organisation and its mission of strengthening human solidarity. I hope India will play as creative a role in this time of trouble and uncertainty as it did in the early formative years of UNESCO.

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UNESCO's CONTRIBUTION TO EDUCATION AND SCIENCE

By MALCOLM S. ADISESHIAH*

UNESCO's Constititution states that one of the main functions of the organisation is to promote collaboration between member states in the fields of education, science and culture. Over the four decades of its existence, the organisation has passed through three stages in carrying out this mandate.

AN INTERNATIONAL CLEARING HOUSE

For the first stage which lasted till the mid fifties, UNESCO was acting as an international clearing house in the areas of education and science, bringing together educators and scientists who had been separated during the war years, exchanging educational and scientific documentation between countries and specialists, and organising seminars and conferences on the major areas in education and science. In the educational field, during this period, the main task was to rebuild war-damaged educational institutions and libraries first in the Allied countries of Europe, as well as China and the Philippines, which gradually spread to all the fifty odd member-countries of UNESCO at this stage. It was during this time that the first International Adult Education Conference was held at Elsinore, Denmark, which forged a national as well as an international programme for the continuing education of workers. In the scientific field, UNESCO acted as an effective medium in the training and exchange of scientists of Europe and the United States, and as part of this effort developed the clearing house of fellowships and scholarships offered in each country in national and other countries. This inventory, called *Study Abroad*, has now become an annual publication. It was during the early fifties that the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance started, under which UNESCO was required to give technical assistance in education and science to the less developed countries of the world. UNESCO was given fourteen per cent of the annual contribution of $ 20 million made by member states to the Technical Assistance Fund to carry out this task. This technical assistance programme, which I was requested to originate, was, however, a kind of external addendum to an essentially international intellectual cooperation-cum-clearing house type of activity which the Organisation represented in these days. The technical assistance programme started in the Arab states, Iran, India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Indonesia,

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the Philippines and Latin America, which provided these countries expert assistance and international training opportunities to support and strengthen the country's programmes of education and science.

OPERATIONAL ACTIVITIES

This uneasy alliance of the international clearing house activities with the small technical assistance programme moved into the second stage beginning in the mid fifties when the organisation planned and began execution of an operational programme. The early fifties, it may also be recalled, was the period when the Asian countries became independent and joined UNESCO, so that their needs and programme began to be reflected at this second stage. UNESCO, in this period, divided its programme of education and science into four parts.

The first part was a continuation of the international clearing house activities through publications, seminars and conferences, international conventions and recommendations. It was during this period the *Quadrennial Educational Survey* and the *Science Policy* publications came out ; the conference on universalisation of primary education was held and the international conventions on copy right and the status of teachers were adopted.

The second part comprised special programmes which were designed by UNESCO, approved by its General Conference and operated as demonstration or pilot projects in various regions of the world. The Fundamental Social Education training centres in Mexico, Egypt and India and the Field Science Laiason officers in Montavideo, Cairo, New Delhi and Jakarta were examples of this demonstration approach.

The third part comprised the major projects which was an attempt at concentration of programme resources. Under this programme, a project for universal primary education in Latin America and a project for the development of the arid zones in Asia and North Africa were approved and operated.

The fourth part was a programme of technical aid from UNESCO's regular budget, under which member states could request UNESCO's assistance in education and science for their national programmes and activities. This last part was merged with the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, which I was asked to head and execute, and also help the entire Organisation to change over from its sole clearing house emphasis to an operational emphasis. Thus during this period, about three fourths of UNESCO's activities either in the form of pilot projects, or major project or technical assistance programmes, became operational.

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REGIONAL CONFERENCES ORGANIZED

The third stage of UNESCO's activities dates from the early sixties, when the African countries became independent and joined it. From this time onwards, the developing countries which were in an overwhelming majority had a decisive voice in the programmes of UNESCO. It was at the start of this period that UNESCO began organising important regional conferences of ministers of education or ministers of sciences along with ministries of economic development. Thus the first Asian Ministers of Education Conference was held in Karachi in 1959 and has since been held every four years. Similarly the first Ministers of Education Conference for Africa was held in Addis Ababa in 1960 and has since been followed by quadrennial conferences. The first Latin American Ministers of Education Conference was held in Santiago de Chile in 1962 and has been followed by similar ministerial conferences. Parallely, there are conferences of Ministers of Science for Asia, Africa and Latin America held every four years. The function of these conferences is to review the state of education or science in the region and define what the member states can do individually, or in a regional organisation like OAU, or what UNESCO can do to help them. It was also at this time that the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and the United Nations Special Fund were merged to form the United Nations Development Programme, in which UNESCO was the third main actor. At about this time also, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development approached UNESCO requesting assistance in establishing a rationale for the grant of loans by the World Bank to member states for the development of education and science This resulted in a joint UNESCO-World Bank programme under which the Bank lends about $ 150 million a year for education and science development in member states. These various elements have made UNESCO's operation a massive one from the international point of view. I had started the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance in 1950 with an annual allocation of $ 3 million, and by the early 70s, when I left UNESCO, the annual assistance to education and science had increased to $ 300 million, today it is about $ 500 million.

AN ASSESSMENT

What has been UNESCO's contribution to education and science ? First, UNESCO has developed as the United Nation's authority in these two areas. Educational activities are undertaken by other UN agencies also, such as agricultural education by FAO, medical education by WHO, vocational training by ILO and similar educational activities by UNIDO, UNEP, WMO, etc. In this situation UNESCO has had a double respon-

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sibility. First it has had to coordinate the entire education programme of the United Nations family and give each part of the programme the expertise and help it needed. Secondly, for the UN system, it has had to act as the focal point and leader in all matters of education and science. As in education, there are many scientific programmes undertaken by FAO, IAEA, WHO and WMO. UNESCO's relations to these programmes of the other agencies is similar to the basic, infrastructural relations between university science departments and the applied programmes of the ministries of agriculture, industry and telecommunications.

Second, there has been a continuing process by UNESCO of clarifying, refining and consolidating its own educational and scientific mandate over the last four decades. Its initial concentration was on the industrially advanced countries, whose need was then for an internatlonal clearing house. As UNESCO's membership increased from the first twenty from Europe and North America to the 150 countries who are its members today, it began to see that its task was to help all countries reach certain minimum educational levels—namely universal primary education, reduction and elimination of adult illiteracy, democratisation of education, relation of education to employment, and application of science to the major problems concerning water, soils, energy, etc. Thus, over the years UNESCO's programme has become concentrated on a dozen decisive points in education and science in which it has developed expertise. Further, UNESCO's help in education and science to its member states has been in the areas of educational planning and science policy to start with. Today, all member states have educational planning cells which have been developed with the help of UNESCO and have established science policy frames also with its help. In addition, UNESCO has been helpful to member states in obtaining large World Bank loans for the development of secondary, vocational and agricultural education; more recently for literacy campaigns. In the scientific field, which has been the major area of UNESCO's cooperation with India, the Organization has been associated with each of our major national laboratories such as the National Physical and National Chemical laboratories in developing their specialities. It has also been responsible for aiding the establishment of one institute of technology, *viz* that at Powai in Bombay.

Finally, education and science also have wider connotations in their application to peace and understanding, which has sparked controversy among the member states of UNESCO because of their varying perceptions of peace. UNESCO's mandate involving the use of education and science to fight against all forms of discrimination and to promote the free flow of information across national frontiers has also become a subject of controversy. In a curious turn around, the European Members States,

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who in the early stages of the organization opposed technical assistance because it was turning the house of international intellectual cooperation into a 5 and 10 cent store, now want to close down the cooperation activities and make UNESCO purely an aid-giving agency, because they believe that the programmes of peace, disarmament and the international development of communication, which they oppose, flow from its intellectual cooperation mandate. Thus even while carrying out its mandate of intellectual cooperation and aid to education and science among member states, there are the seeds of disagreement about UNESCO's programme and functions, disagreement which only further education and further science imparted to its member states and their representatives in accordance with UNESCO's contribution, can help to resolve.

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THEORY OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS: LIMITATIONS OF POLITICAL REALISM

By RAJESH M. BASRUR*

In the increasingly uneasy world of today, when the notion of a "balance of terror" no longer seems a jaded and unlikely description of the human condition, the concerned thinker, fearful of the future, must pause to reconsider the relevance of the dominant mode of thought in international retations. This paper seeks to examine the fundamental question whether political realism, for long the dominant mode of thought in international politics, can any longer serve as a useful guide to understanding and action in world affairs. Given the dangerous direction in which the world is all too evidently heading in the 1980s, it is necessary to enquire whether the realist outlook, however useful in the past, provides any ground for optimism regarding the future. The task is all the more important because the "future" we are concerned with involves the question of the survival of life on this planet.

AT the outset, my basic position may be stated as follows: that modern political realism as a philosophy or *Weltansicht* is derived from basic principles that are questionable, that it is rooted in a historical context that is different from that which exists today, and that in this qualitatively different world, it does not and cannot provide the basis for appropriate action. Here, an attampt would be made to examine the roots of political realism, current realist approaches to international politics, the substantive problem of nuclear conflict today, and finally, the elements of an alternative approach. In the process, a critical analysis of the systems theories of Kenneth Waltz and Robert Gilpin would be made.

There are two reasons for this. First, both have recently made outstanding contributions to the theory of international politics, and second, systems theory is the most appropriate level on which to focus since my ultimate concern is with the international political system as a whole.

POLITICAL REALISM AND ITS ROOTS

As with most "isms" in political thought, political realism is not easy to define, particularly because most of its adherents have not attempted

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a clear and systematic definition. Where a definition has been attampted (e.g. by Hans Morgenthau), it has been open to criticisms of self-contradiction and vagueness. Thus, for instance, Stanley Hoffman has criticised Morgenthau for not giving a clear meaning to the concept of power, for holding conflicting positions on the possibility of human action in a world of unalterable social laws, and so on.[1] Nevertheless, it is possible to create some order out of the confusion and identify certain commonly held realist positions and concepts.

Political realism holds that international politics is the realm of nation-states which form particular patterns of behaviour within the constraints of a system of international anarchy. These patterns of behaviour can be properly understood in terms of conflicting interests and the continuous search for power by individual states, each seeking to maximise its own interests. The outcome, generally, is the existence of an equilibrium in which conflicting power is balanced. True, at various points of time, imbalances arise and disrupt the equilibrium, usually resulting in war, but the inherent tendency towards equilibrium, coupled with policies aimed at balance (realism is never clear obout which is more significant), results in either the restroration of the old balance or the creation of a new one.

In the contemporary world, the notion of a renewed balance is of doubtful relevance. It is scarcely conceivable that a new balance, or even the restoration of the old one, can be achieved in the aftermath of a systemic war. As will be shown, the development of nuclear weapons not only makes the concept of a new post-war balance absurd; it also highlights the dubious value of a mode of thought that cannot view peace and stability as being based on anything other than conflict of interests.

The contemporary realist's preoccupation with equilibrium as a consequence of conflicting interests can be traced to the profound impact of Isaac Newton's researches not only on physics and the other sciences, but also on social thought. Newton showed that, in the natural world, the laws of gravity and motion, by balancing each other, resulted in equilibrium. Since mankind was viewed as an integral part of the natural order, social scientists took upon themselves the task of identifying the social laws that bring about social order. "Like the detective who confidently expects to unravel the most complicated mystery by finding *la femme*, these social scientists expected to resolve all their problems by finding a few fundamental laws."[2] Self-interest was no longer regarded as a factor of social disruption, but as "natural." To the men of the eighteenth century, the social universe, like the heavens, was made up of individually suspended bodies, an orderly relationship among them being assumed by natural forces. For Newton's law of gravitation, an eighteenth-century philosopher used the word, "self

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interest'."[3] David Hamilton has shown with remarkable clarity the development of the entire body of classical and neo-classical theory from Adam Smith till today on the basis of these assumptions. Limitations of space do not permit a similar exercise with respect to political realism, but the closeness of the realists' adherence to the concepts of national interest and equilibrium is surely significant.

The problem with the concept of equilibrium, of course, is its tendency to break down with distressing regularity. It is all very well to argue, as political realists do, that balancing behaviour on the part of the major states produced a century of peace from 1815 to 1914 and has done the same since 1945, at least in terms of preventing a system-wide war. But when it is equally well known that balance in the past have been followed by increasiogly violent upheavals, it is difficult to be sanguine about the future, particularly in view of the current tensions in international politics and the foreseeable consequences of a systemic war. The unquestioned acceptance of conflict behaviour as the norm by the advocates of *realpolitik* surely cries out for re-examination in the llght of present circumstances. What is urgently required is the adoption of a more positive alternative approach to conflict-resolution than has been in evidence hitherto. The elements of such an approach will be outlined in the final section of this paper.

One reason for the focus on conflict has been the videspread acceptance of the idea that, somehow, conflict behaviour is a "natural" component of human behaviour as a whole. ("Natural" here is used in the sense of an essential property that cannot be left out of the definition of an object.) There are two strands of thought from which such a notion arises. One, which regards man as innately aggressive, has been put forward by various behavioural scientists and their vulgarisers.[4] A powerful critique of this position has recently been delivered by Ashley Montagu, who systematically debunks the "biological truths" presented by Ardrey, Lorenz and others, and offers a more plausible environmental-cultural explanation for both animal and human conflict.[5]

The second stream of thought, viewing conflict as arising from man's environment, opens up two possible subordinate views. One accepts the recurrence of conflict in a world of increasing interaction among human beings (and states). In the realm of sovereign states, where each actor is dependent essentially on its own means to ensure its survival, conflicting interests can at best be managed. In practice, the general tendency has been to act on worst-case assumtions, and this is particularly true of relationships among major powers. The entire literature on security and strategic studies rests on the assumption that, in a rational approach to policy-making, "our" policy or strategy must be so formulated as to counter the worst possible effects of "their" policy or strategy. It is this "deadly logic" of worst-case assumptions that has

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led the super powers into the endless spiral of the arms race. Given the fact that neither side knows the precise state of the other's military technology, and given also that neither side can afford the time lag involved in catching up, both are caught in a "technological trap" that sustains the rapid pace of research and development in weapons technology.[6] Further, at any point of time, the perception by one side that the other has forged ahead qualitatively, thereby rendering its own position vulnerable, may be sufficient cause for a pre-emptive strike resulting in a disastrous unclear war.

The theories espoused by political realists cannot provide a basis for resolving the dilemma because, over time, rational worst-case assumptions make the very outcome they seek to avoid increasingly probable. Indeed, theories that rest on the unavoidable nature of conflict of interest and insist on the structural limitations imposed by the anarchic nature of the international political system simply cannot do so.

An alternative approach is one that seeks to alter the environment rather than accept its constraints as irresistible. Even if it is true that interaction leads to conflict, there is no need to accept the inevitability of conflict, particularly when its consequences are likely to be calamitous. Montagu has shown the contrast between William Golding's *Lord of the Flies*, in which a group of marooned English schoolboys reveal what Golding calls the "defects of human nature", and an actual incident in which a group of Melanesian children, stranded on an atoll for several months, displayed a remarkable degree of cooperation and conflict-free behaviour.[7] The important point here is that, with *survival at stake*, the children cooperated effectively.

Montagu has also shown that, contrary to popular images of tribal savagery, almost all the primitive gatherer-hunters that have been studied in the different continents have been gentle and non-violent in nature. If conflict has increased, it is because man's capacity to master the environment has made him less conscious of the need for close cooperation for the sake of sheer survival. Now, it is evident, the need has arisen again. In his struggle to master his natural environment, man developed technology to a high degree. Today, however, technology has undergone a metamorphosis from instrument to controller. Man has become the creature of an artificial environment created by himself—one that threatens the destruction of the human species. Primitive tribes may have cooperated "naturally" in their efforts to survive the rigours of their natural environment; contemporary man must arouse in himself the will to cooperate in order to survive the dangers of an environment of his own creation. Political realism, with its emphasis on the inevitabilityof conflict, provides little ground for such cooperation.

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CURRENT REALIST APPROACHES

In the period following World War II, realist theories have largely focused on the concept of "balance of power."[9] Though extensive quantitative research has also been undertaken, its findings have been of dubious value and therefore the influence of the systems theory has been much greater. States have been regarded as the international system's essential actors and their relationships have generally been treated in a static manner, emphasising continuities and regularities in behaviour rather than change. The fundamental premise of the realists has been that the possibilities of action are limited by the anarchic structure of the international system and peace is therefore possible only through the exercise of appropriate techniques of conflict management.

It is useful to examine two different systemic approaches that have been influential in the study of international politics in recent years. Kenneth Waltz's *Theory of International Politics* is essentially a refinement of earlier theories seeking to emphasise the stability of the international system.[10] Robert Gilpin's *War and Change in World Politics*, on the other hand, marks a significant departure from earlier approaches by focusing on regular patterns of cyclical change in international politics.[11] An attempt would be made here to develop a critique of these theories in terms of their usefulness in understanding the substantive problems of international politics today, as well as their utility as guides to action in dealing with these problems. It is sometimes argued that the systems theory provides little by way of practical advice. This is certainly true, but broad theories do set the parameters within which more specific theories operate at a lower level. Hence, it is hardly a futile exercise to attempt an analysis of systems theory which includes the latter's practical usefulness.

Both Waltz and Gilpin are political realists. Though there are some differences, both view the international system as essentially a system of states interacting in a condition of anarchy, motivated primarily by their own interests. In both theories, the struggle for power between major states determines the condition of the system as a whole. Perhaps because quantitative and sub-systemic approaches have not come up to expectations, both writers have used a "grand theory" approach—one that has always excited the social theorist. After all, the place of elegant theory, of the kind produced by Newton and Einstein, is central in the natural sciences, and social science lays claim to similar explanatory power. Finally, both Waltz and Gilpin are broadly in agreement over the course of action that is possible as well as desirable in order to maintain stability, order and peace, viz., the judicious exercise of diplomacy and balancing behaviour by the great powers.

My own position may be summarised as follows. Leaving aside its many inconsistencies, Waltz's theory is not firmly grounded in history,

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not particularly useful in understanding the present nature of the international system, and of little value in its implications for action in shaping the future. Gilpin's theory, while being more firmly grounded in history, is useful in understanding the present, but, like Waltz's theory, provides no adequate basis for action. It will further be argued that, because of a qualitative change in the international system—the development of nuclear power—it is necessary to break out of the constraints imposed by both theories, indeed by the entire realist paradigm, by incorporating within theory a much stronger basis for action. In a world threatened with unprecedented destruction, possibly of the entire human species, it is vital that political scientists not only attempt to interpret the international system, but also seek radical means to change it.

Waltz's Optimism About Stability of Duopolies Weak

Of the two theorists discussed here, Waltz is the more conservative. His very definition of the bounds of the theory is conservative; "Within a system, a theory explains recurrences and not change."[12] Though he does admit that "across systems, a theory explains change",[13] much of his book is devoted to arguing that there are no significant signs of change in a system characterised by conflicting interests, self-help and the dominance of two great powers, viz., the United States and the Soviet Union. He insists, moreover, that two-power dominance is the most stable and leans heavily on the oligopoly theory in economics to demonstrate this.

By this reckoning, the existence of a large number of firms in the market is the cause of relative instability, though it does benefit the consumer. The smaller the number of firms, the more stable the market. Duopoly is the best, since both firms acquire an interest in maintaining market stability. By analogy, a system dominated by two great powers is also the most stable. The existence of more than two great powers leads to the dangerous game of shifting alliances. A crucial point here is that the analogy focuses solely on the stability-value of a duopoly and not on the interest of the "consumer." This is because, in the international political system, every state without exception regards stability and survival as the ultimate value and all other values are secondary.

Waltz's position is open to an obvious criticism. If stability is to be accorded such high value, it would be logical to extend his line of reasoning and assert that single-power dominance is even better, especially if we recognise, as Waltz does not, that the stability of a duopoly has definite limitations.

Waltz takes it for granted that a duopoly ensures long-term stability. This is questionable. Gilpin has pointed out that a distinction should be made between stable and unstable equilibria. The latter is the condition of an egg balanced on one end, which may be toppled by even a slight breeze.[14] Moreover, cartels and oligopolies tend to break down because

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"they have a powerful incentive to cheat" or because the competitors are unlikely to innovate at the same rate over time.[15] It is certainly hard to see the super power relationship today as stable in view of the renewed arms race. Nor does there appear to be any kind of agreement about balancing between the super powers.

As Bruce Russett has pointed out, analogies from economic theory involve certain hazards, because "in making the transfer from economic situations to political ones, the chances for error are compounded, since even if the assumptions produced useful results in their original habitat, they may be quite inappropriate to their new setting."[16] In the first place, the behaviour of states and firms is not quite comparable. Unlike states, firms are motivated primarily by profit. Failure to attain profitability often leads to liquidation or merger by choice. Secondly, the failure of firms to maintain the stability of the system cannot possibly have the kind of impact that is probable in a politial system characterised by nuclear confrontation.

Waltz's problem is that he is caught between the differing oligopolistic and Durkheimian models he espouses. In Chapter 5 of his book, he defines his system as consisting of two levels—interacting units (i.e., states) and structure. The structure is defined in terms of an ordering principle (anarchy), specification of the functions of units (states being functionally alike, this does not apply to the international political system), and the distribution of capabilities. John Ruggie has shown that, in his preoccupation with stability, Waltz neglects an important component of Durkheim's model of the system.[17] This is the concept of "dynamic density" (the volume, velocity and intensity of intra-systemic interactions), which helps us to discern qualitative changes, whether sudden or gradual, in the system.

Ruggie refers specifically to Waltz's inability to recognise a historically significant change—the transition from the network of feudal relations to the modern states system that took place in Europe. It is this kind of qualitative change, in an emergent form that liberal critics of realism emphasise in pointing to the growth of "complex interdependence" today.[18] The case for complex interdependence is arguable, but the point is that this crucial component of the system, which gives it dynamism, is altogether ignored by Waltz. Indeed, he displays a strong bias against change throughout his book, and much of his effort can be characterised as essentially a defence of the *status quo*.

Like other realists before him, Waltz also tends to be determinist, even though this has negative implications for policy, and indeed for human action in a broad sense. For instance, he explicitly states that "balances of power tend to form whether some or all states consciously aim to establish and maintain a balance, or whether some or all states aim for universal domination."[19] He does not stop to consider that, if some

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kind of balance is going to occur regardless of human design, then it is surely a waste of time to engage in a prolonged defence of a particular type of balance. Besides, the emphasis on balance is reflective of a rather limited acquaintance with history.

A major problem with the writings of balance of power theorists is that its historical basis is weak, drawing largely upon pre-World War II modern European history for its evidence. Additionally, mediaeval Italy and ancient Greece have figured prominently in balance of power literature. But, examining the various international systems in world history, one finds it hard to discover many such balances of power. In the history of the Indian sub-continent, for instance, although there are periods in which several powers vied for dominance and, in a sense, balanced each other of, there are much longer periods of imperial hegemony.

To give concrete examples from mediaeval Indian history, a succession of dynasties, generally known collectively as the Delhi Sultanate, exercised their hegemony in varying degrees over the sub-continent from the early thirteenth century onwards. From 1526, the system was dominated almost completely by the Mughal Empire which was eventually replaced, following an interregnum of Maratha hegemony, by British rule, which brought the region into the larger world system. No historian of pre-British India writes about the balance of power because it simply did not exist in any substantive sense. Nor for that matter does the concept apply to the hegemony of the Chinese empire over its peripheral territories.

Waltz's limited historical grounding is also reflected in his discussion of the merits of bi-polarity over multi-polarity. According to him, "Systems of three have distinctive and unfortunate characteristics. Two of the powers can easily gang upon the third, divide the spoils and drive the system back to bi-polarity."[20] Further, he adds, multi-polar politics is one of shifting alliances that leads to instability and uncertainity. All this is clearly based on observation of the politics of nineteenth and early twentieth century Europe. It can hardly apply to a nuclear world in which, in Waltz's own words, "nuclear forces do not add up"[21] and "combining separate national forces is not much help."[22] The very idea of two nuclear powers "ganging up" successfully against a third is quite ridiculous. The politics of a nuclear world are qualitatively different from those of a non-nuclear one. Though it is not necessary that a tri-polar world will be extremely unstable in the way that Waltz portrays it, it would certainly seem reasonable to argue that the proliferation of nuclear powers would, in the long run, contribute to increasing the probability of nuclear conflict between two or more of them. But it is necessary to emphasise, and Waltz does not, that vertical proliferation in nuclear weapons technology is just as dangerous as horizontal proliferation in the number of nuclear great powers.

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It still remains to be seen whether anything useful might be made of the concept of dynamic density. The complex interdependence thesis may well be debated, but in another way, by placing technology in the context of dynamic density, it may be said that an important qualitative change *has* taken place in the international political system—the appearance and rapid development of nuclear power as an instrument of war Before 1945, war still remained, as it has always been, the ultimate instrument of national policy for the great powers, even though air power had already reduced the capacity to defend territory and lives from attack. But in the contemporary era, as even Hans Morgenthau, the high priest of post-war realism has come to admit, "this rational relationship between violence as a means of foreign policy and the ends of foreign policy has been destroyed by the possibility of all-out nuclear war."[23]

In a world threatened by growing tensions and the very real spectre of a nuclear holocaust, it is with a strange kind of confidence that the realists' reliance on stable balance of power politics and the management of crises is sustained. True, nuclear weapons, by their very nature, inhibit war-fighting on the part of those who possess them. Nevertheless, all kinds of scenarios can be envisaged : accidents, over reaction or miscalculation in a crisis, a pre-emptive strike caused by the perception of vulnerability, and so on. For all this, realists like Waltz offer only solutions of the traditional kind, emphasising the management of world affairs by the great powers—solutions which are scarcely reassuring. Ironically, Waltz's optimism about the "maturation" of the Soviet-American relationship, based on his logical argument that duopolies are stable, proved to be on weak ground within a few months of the publication of his book in 1979.

Gilpin's Theory Ambivalent and Self-Contradictory

Gilpin's theory makes a significant departure from the beaten track of the realist school. Although, like other realists, he too characterises international relations as "a recurring struggle for wealth and power among independent actors in a state of anarchy,"[24] he focuses much more strongly on change rather than stability in the international system. Using cost-benefit analysis as an explanatory tool, he rests his thesis on five assumptions regarding the behaviour of states : (i) "An international system is stable (i.e. in a state of equilibrium) if no state believes it profitable to attempt to change the system." (ii) "A state will attempt to change the international system if the expected benefits excede the expected costs (i.e. if there is an expected net gain)." (iii) "A state will seek to change the international system through territorial, political and economic expansion until the marginal costs of further change are equal to or greater than the marginal benefits." (iv) "Once an equilibrium is

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reached between the costs and benefits of further change and expansion, the tendency is for the economic costs of maintaining the *status quo* to rise faster than the economic capacity to support the *status quo*." (v) "If the disequilibrium in the international system is not resolved, then the system will be changed, and a new equilibrium reflecting the distribution of power will be established."[25]

Unlike most balance of power theories, Gilpin's model has a sound historical basis; for he examines not only the world system of the present and the nineteenth century system centered on Europe, but several smaller systems that existed in the past. He characterises each system as being hegemonic rather than bi-polar or multi-polar, e.g., the nineteeth century system was dominated by Britain, while the period between World War II and the early 1970s was dominated by the United States. The cost-benefit model explains the transition of the international system in cyclical form—the rise and fall of hegemonic powers. Once the hegemonic power reaches the point where costs equal and then begin to outweigh benefits, it is open to challenge by a newly rising power. Conditions are then ripe for a "hegemonic war" between the two. The model is not rigid, for the repetitive cycles are not fixed or uniform in duration. Finally, and this is important, cyclical change is ultimately dependent on unique historical factors as well as deliberate policy that is the product of men's perceptions of the existing situation and calculations of costs and benefits. As Gilpin is careful to point out, outcomes are "dependent, at least in part, on what individuals choose to do."[26]

Gilpin's theory is thus impressive in its simplicity and explanatory power. However, it is open to criticism in several respects. Ronald Rogowski, while pointing out a number of minor errors, finds Gilpin guilty of "lack of deductive rigour and parsimony" because a number of his premises are weakly supported.[27] More important, one might add, is Gilpin's tendency to view nation-states somewhat atomistically. There is no clear sense of input from external variables such as the limitations on a nation's choices and actions imposed by the behaviour of other nations. Above all, as will be shown below, there is an undercurrent of self-contradiction in a theory that is based on the recurrence of cyclical change but which concludes that the pattern can be broken (by the avoidance of hegemonic war between the hegemon and the challenger) without any change in its fundamental assumptions.

In spite of its shortcomings, Gilpin's theory offers broad trends which are useful in understanding the direction which the international system is taking. The Epilogue to the book provides particularly useful insights. Gilpin recognises that the American hegemony of the post-World War II period is in a state of decline, both as a result of the rise of Soviet power as well as of the United States' own inability to sustain its former dominance over the international economy. Historically, disequilibrium has

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been dissolved by hegemonic war, which makes the present period a dangerously unstable one. At this point, Gilpin takes the comforting view that "although there are powerful forces that could lead to hegemonic war between the two super powers, the historic conditions for such a war are only partially present."[28] This is because "potentially destabilising developments are balanced by the restraint imposed by the existence of nuclear weapons, the plurality of the system, and the mutual benefits of economic cooperation."[29]

The immediate past and the present do not, unfortunately, provide adequate ground for optimism. US policy, from the point of view of Gilpin's model, is clearly aimed at a revival of lost hegemony. The Reagan Administration's military-build up and its belligerent policies in the Caribbean and Latin America are ample evidence of this. Unfortunately, the realism of Gilpin, based as it is on the assumption that conflict is inevitable, cannot really be sure that statesmen will "build on the positive forces of our age in the creation of a new and more stable international order."[30] Gilpin himself reveals a certain ambivalence when he states categorically that "weapons have not made the resort to force irrelevant ; economic interdependence does not guarantee that cooperation will triumph over conflict ; a global community of common values and outlook has yet to displace international anarchy."[31] He does not go on to ask whether it is necessary to wait for a sense of community to appear in due course, as it were, or whether something can be done to *create* it. To the political realist, convinced that the structural constraints of an anarchic system pose definite limitations on action, such a question does not even occur.

ON THE BRINK : THE NUCLEAR WORLD TODAY

In recent years, a number of scholars have expresssed their concern about rapid economic and military developments that threaten the world today. A comprehensive view is that of Richard Falk, who identifies the war system, pressure of population, declining resources and growing environmental imbalance as "the four dimensions of planetary danger," and seeks radical solutions to the problem.[32] Falk argues that the states system is dysfunctional because it inhibits the growth of a sense of community, which alone can provide the basis for the necessary solutions. But jettisoning the st ates system is a task of such Herculean proportions that it cannot be envisaged in the the near future. The appropriate response would be that "the form of universal polititical organisation which actually prevails in the world is that of the states system, and it is within this system that the search for consensus has to begin."[33] Hence a pragmatic scholar-statesman like Willy Brandt searches for solutions to the related economic and military problems of survival within the existing international system.[34] The crucial question

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is whether a sense of community strong enough to facilitate positive and radical action is possible in a world that continues, by and large, to cling to the kind of realist assumptions on which Waltz and Gilpin rest their respective theses.

The chief problem that confronts human civilisation today is the spectre of nuclear war and its terrible aftermath. When the United States carried out the world's first nuclear detonation at Alamogordo on 16 July 1945, there was a deep awareness among many of the scientists involved that the new era of nuclear technology brought with it awesome dangers that would be difficult to control. At the time, Robert Oppenheimer, the "father" of the atomic bomb, was moved to recite the following words from the Bhagwad Gita : "If the radiance of a thousand suns were to burst at once into the sky, that would be the splendour of the Mighty One...I am become death, the destroyer of worlds."[35]

The sense of grim foreboding that has existed since then has been made more tangible by the collective research efforts of a large number of researchers, whose work has been summarised and presented in layman's language by Carl Sagan.[36] His article on "Nuclear War and Climatic Catastrophe" details some of the probable consequences (i.e., with a statistically high probability) even a limited nuclear war. Aside from the immediate lethal effects of nuclear explosions, the long-term climatic and biological consequences portend the likelihood of species' extinction in the northern temperate zone. It follows that, if a full-scale nuclear war occurs, life on earth itself may be extingushed.

In the light of this, the super power arms race augurs ill for the security of the international system. Military technology stands poised for a qualitative leap with the development of anti-satellite weapons and the search for an effective missile defence system. In his so-called "star wars" speech in March 1983, President Reagan appealed to nuclear scientists to make nuclear weapons "impotent and obsolete," but the effect of competitive research along these lines may well be destabilising in the extreme. As noted earlier, the probability of competitors maintaining an equal level of technological innovation decreases over time, and sooner or later, a technological gap is likely to arise. Sensing that an impending gap will make it highly vulnerable, either super power may feel compelled to opt for a pre-emptive strike, with calamitous results.

Much more worrisome is the possibility of nuclear war occurring by accident. As Robert McNamara has pointed out, the continued existence of a large number of nuclear weapons, many of them old and outdated, makes accidental nuclear conflict a dangerous probabilility.[37]

In 1980, an investigation by the United States Senate Armed Services Committee discovered that, during an 18-month period, the United States strategic warning system had experienced 151 false alarms, the longest lasting for six minutes.[38] Given that the Soviet missile warning system is not likely to be any better than its American counterpart, and given also

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that Pershing II missiles now deployed in West Germany can reach their targets in six minutes, there is a very substantial danger of accidental nuclear war.

Waltz, writing at a time when *detente* was still alive, could afford to speak confidently of the "maturation" of the super power retationship, which would make the management of world affairs relatively easier. Gilpin, on the other hand, displays the uneasiness that has prevailed in the wake of the crises in Afghanistan and Iran, particularly with the rapid deterioration of the Soviet-American relationship. Yet he bases his hopes for a more stable future on his continued perception that the world is characterised by a continuing struggle for power (and will remain so) without realising the need to bring about a fundamental change in this essentially pessimistic outlook.

POLITICS OF SURVIVAL : AN ALTERNATIVE APPROACH

Any attempt to tackle the question of how the pressing danger of nuclear war can be avoided has to operate on two levels : the short-term objective of averting the immediate possibility of a catastrophe; and the long-term objective of preventing the rise of such a threat at all. In both cases, the starting point is the abandonment of the fundamental outlook that pervades the writings of realists like Waltz and Gilpin. Realist theories emphasise the structural limitations of the international political system, i.e., the existence of an anarchic system of states in which conflict is inevitable and at best manageable. It is becoming increasingly clear, however, that the management of the international system is very different from the management of firms or even states, because the effects of failure are likely to be disastrous.

So much weight has been given to the structure that there has prevailed a perceptual screen through which the possibilities of action have been viewed as extremely limited. More precisely stated, this means that men and states have been regarded as creatures of the structure, their motives and action, however laudable, being constrained by it. Any substantial change must follow from structural change alone. The idea that men can come to grips with the "deep structure"—the anarchic condition of states—has rarely been examined except in an idealistic manner, as in the case of Falk.

Waltz, Gilpin and other realists, because they see the system as one of states, tend also to see limitations on action in terms of states. Nuclear weapons are possessed by states and their use or non-use is seen in terms of decisions and actions of states. It is necessary, once again, to emphasise that there is a qualitative difference between the nuclear world and its predecessor. The problem posed by the existence of nuclear weapons is not one of nations but one of human society. It is more useful, therefore, to view it from the perspective of the evolution of mankind rather than the

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static perspective of the international political system.

Man, like all living species, has evolved over the millenia by means of his adaptability to the environment. Further, his evolving intellectual capacity has made him, in many ways, master of his environment. As already noted, man's intellectual ability has also created the contem porary environment of nuclear weapons technology that now threatens his existence. The key question is whether, as an adaptive organism seeking self-perpetuation, man has the capacity to master this artificial environment. In order to survive, he must supersede the limitations of the international political structure, i.e., man, and not the state, must be the essential actor in the system. It is necessary to ask, therefore : Can will supersede structure? It seems to me that only a poor and pessimistic conception of man insists that it cannot. It is precisely this negative view that has been endlessly propagated by the *afficionados* of political realism. Perhaps the realists of times past can be excused for their singularly myopic outlook, for the world then was not threatened as it is today. It is less easy to defend the current bearers of the realist standard.

The first and most essential step, therefore, is to discard the realist outlook and adopt the alternative perspective of adaptation for survival. It is only by a conscious effort of will that structural constraints can be overcome, and political realism provides little or no basis for this. It is essential to bear in mind that "the drive towards...eventual nuclear destruction is the result of human decisions taken within human institutions that do not derive from natural law and can be changed by people who devote themselves to the search for justice and freedom."[29]

This is scarcely the place to embark on a detailed consideration of how this radically different perspective can be developed. Indeed, it is doubtful if any kind of "blueprint" approach is advisable. An incremental approach may well be more fruitful. The important thing is to develop a better guarantee of survival through a radical change in attitudes and orientation. As matters stand, thinking in international politics is caught between contradictory trends. On the one hand, it has been widely (though not totally) accepted tht war (between possessors of nuclear weaponry) is no longer a viable instrument of national policy. Further, the recognition of the dangers posed by the spiralling nuclear arms race has led at least to some attempts to limit the production and deployment of strategic arms. Yet, the process of stabilisation, which aroused so much optimism in the early 1970s, received a setback with the failure of *detente* by the end of that decade. Any number of explanations are available for the breakdown of *detente* but the fundamental problem was that it faltered and eventually collapsed largely because the realist world-view of the super powers—with its attendant characteristics of basic distrust, worst-case assumptions, and reliance on power politics—prevailed.

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The crux of the matter is that perception in the nuclear world remains bogged down in the pre-nuclear past. As one discerning critic has put it, "while technology and means of destruction were catching up with the science fiction of the twentieth century, the mind set of the protagonists remained mired in the prejudices of the nineteenth century.[40]

So long as contemporary thought refuses to divest itself of a set of concepts and attitudes that is clearly behind the times, the prospects for peace and survival are likely to remain uncertain. Theory in international politics has been strangely sluggish in its response to post-war realities in international political life. Poltical realism has, indeed, become a dangerous anachronism in this respect. It may yet happen that, in the not-too-distant future, man will fall vlctim to nuclear technology and destroy himself. If so, that will be in considerable part due to his inability to comprehend the limits of political realism.

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ECONOMIC CRISIS IN AFRICA

By VIJAY GUPTA*

Sub-Saharan Africa is facing deep economic crisis. A situation has reached where there is total stagnation with zero per cent growth rate and no hope of recovery. Hunger is hovering over vast areas of Africa threatening the lives of 150 million people and every day people are dying of starvation. It is said, that nature and international economic relations are both responsible for the crisis. The problems include drought and expanding desertification leading to scarcity of food and consequently rising foreign exchange expenditure on food purchase. There is shortage of inputs for the very few industries that exist. The burden of external debts is increasing every day and is reaching a stage when repayment would be impossible.

According to a **World Bank Report**: "*Of the 45 states in the sub-Saharan region, 24 have fewer than five million people. African economies are for the most part small in economic terms. These are open economies where foreign trade accounts for about a quarter of the GDP. They are specialized economies, most of them agricultural, dependent on the export of two or three primary commodities. Even in mineral exporting countries, the majority of the population (around 80 per cent) is engaged in agriculture with subsistence production. Only 20 per cent of the population is non-rural, and modern wage employment absorbs a very small proportion of the labour force—in most countries less than 10 per cent.*"[1] *There is mass-poverty and regional inequality with under-developed structures. Agricultural growth per capita, a key indicator in Africa, has been showing negative rates of growth.*

In most African societies the patriarchal, tribal social structure still exists today side by side with the foreign companies (MNCs) holding key positions in the economy of a number of countries. Small-scale production by farmers, livestock breeders and handicraftsmen is still the largest sector of the African economy today. The low level of subsistence farming often with primitive tools and implements prevails all over the continent. The small cash crop growers are ruthlessly exploited by foreign monopolies, local feudals and the tribal elite. Forced by an unbearable and miserable existence "peasants" abandon land temporarily and are forced to seek work in the cities, plantations or in mines. As the rate of industrial growth is very low, migration from the rural to the tertiary or industrial sector is minimal.

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Africa is underdeveloped, that is, Africa's economic potential is scantily developed. For instance, the African continent possesses two-fifths of the world's total hydroelectric potential—more than Europe and the two Americans put together but the present production is ridiculously small—25 billion kwh—that is equivalent to the consumption of a large European city. Similarly African mineral resources have been relatively little exploited and so far research on tropical soils is in the first stages, knowledge of water resources is minimal. African human resources have remained underutilized. Africa lags far behind in education leading to low capacity in technical and economic inventiveness.

Between 1960 and 1979 the per capita income in a number of sub-Saharan countries showed increase while some others had a very low rate of growth and still others showed negative rates of growth. Since 1980 it appears that there has been a constant tendency of decline in the rate of growth in a large number of countries.[2] *Even the oil-producing countries are in trouble.*

Looking back on Africa through the last hundred years two clear phases emerge. *One*, colonial underdevelopment of Africa, and the *other*, linking the economy of Africa with the metropolis in such a way that the breaking-off of this relationship becomes impossible. The minerals and agricultural plantation products of the colonies were committed to be sold to the metropolis and the latter became the sole supplier of imports to their colonies. The dependence was so firmly rooted that even after independence economic bondages could not be severed.

The processes of underdevelopment began when the colonial powers, after the *1885 Scramble* divided areas of their influence for direct exploitation of the riches of the colonies. Paucity of space does not permit a full discussion of this era. During the colonial era the fertile lands of the Africans were alienated for European settlers or converted into plantations and Africans were forced to work in mines or plantations producing export commodities, i.e., minerals and cash crops. The people who were not sucked into the colonial exploitative system were largely left to live as subsistence farmers or cattle breeders.

NATURE OF THE ECONOMY

To understand the causes of the economic crisis it is necessary to understand the complex structure and character of the economy. It has been observed that the basic characteristic of this economy is its dual nature, i. e., where modernized, monetized enclaves are super-imposed over a large low-productivity subsistence sector. The subsistence sector has seen no technological development and still continues to use traditional or rather primitive tools and techniques of production.

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Most of the investments in the economy are in the modern sector producing commodities directed to the satisfaction of the requirements of the production process of the former colonial powers by a forced integration into the capitalist international division of labour. The forced dependence took place at the expense of the complimentarity among African states. It has not yet been possible to overcome this disadvantageous situation because of the hard economic conditions of dependence. According to Pierre Jalee, "political decolonization has done nothing to alter the system of pillage.[3]"

Besides the colonial linkages, for export earning there is paucity of saving and investible surpluses for economic growth, lack of know-how and technology and a weak infrastructure. Consequently independent African nations have to operate their economies in the colonial structure and to seek foreign investments for new activities with which they enter neo-colonial institutions.

Consequently, instead of becoming masters of their own destiny, the Africans became dependent partners under neo-colonial modes of production. Their dependence has further increased during the last 15 years due to the vagaries of nature which played havoc with the economic life of Africa. Rains have avoided the majority of the African countries and drought has gripped as many as 27 countries leading to serious famine and starvation, leading to further intensification of difficulties and bringing down large sections of the people far below the poverty line. Countries earlier self-sufficient in food have become dependent on imports.

In sub-Saharan Africa as a whole, average income per capita has actually fallen by 4 per cent since 1970. Taking just the oil importing countries, the decline has been twice as great, i. e., 8 per cent over the same period.[4] Africa is the least industrialized continent in the Third World. African manufacturing showed a rapid increase in the 1960s as the newly independent governments encouraged import substitution industries. However, problems emerged from this policy in most countries (high cost protection, inelastic supply of raw material, limited markets, etc.) and the rate of growth has declined since 1965.[5] In 1980 Africa was responsible for only one per cent of world maufacturing value-added.[6]

Difficulties increased with the oil price rise when most oil importing countries could not provide foreign exchange to cover the inputs of manufacturing industries and industries were forced to work at less than the full capacity.

African industry is dominated by light industries which account for just 70 per cent of industrial value-added and just over 70 per cent of industrial employment (light industries are food, beverages and tobacco 43 per cent, textile, wearing apparel and leather 19 per cent).

Heavy industries provide a little more than 30 per cent of value-added

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by manufacturing and a little under 30 per cent of industrial employment. Leading heavy industries are chemicals, petroleum, coal, rubber metal products.[7]

Political instability in Africa has not facilitated new industrial initiatives. The increases in oil prices have caused a number of projects to be delayed or cancelled and money available for public financing to support a hesitant private sector has been modest.

New Colonial Structure

After the exit of the colonial powers the economy of most of the African states has been taken over by the multinational corporations (MNCs). More than 840 MNCs and their subsidiaries operate in Africa. Being foreign private economic ventures, these MNCs also act only for enhancing their profits which are not invested in Africa. Moreover the pattern of investment of MNCs is such that it increases their control over the economies of African countries. The MNCs have almost complete control over many industries. They produce or mine the product, they provide the technology, they process, they transport, they market. Even when the cash crop is grown by small holders as coffee is in Kenya, the control of the market and prices remain with the multinationals. In this process they make lucrative profits. In a Swedish TV film on multinationals, one could see how a *mahogany* tree was sold in Europe with £1. 780 profit. The French company that sold it had then left in the Ivory Coast only £11 in taxes and £1.5 in wages to timbermen, loaders, truck-drivers and porters in the harbour.

A majority of the sub-Saharan African countries depend for more than half of their foreign exchange earnings on cash crop exports and a high proportion of this output is, in whole or in part, controlled by MNCs. For instance, sugar has become an agricultural growth industry in Africa. Large quantities of sugar is exported to the EEC and USA. Sugar accounts for over 90 per cent of foreign exchange earnings for Mauritius, over 50 per cent for Swaziland, and it is acquiring increasing importance in the economies of Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The sugar industry and marketing is controlled by Tate and Lyle, Lonrho and Bookers and these MNCs take away the bulk of the profits.

To quote an instance, Swaziland has three sugar mills, controlled by Lonrho, Tate and Lyle and CDC. In January 1978, Tate and Lyle won a contract to manage a third sugar mill to cost $ 73 million and produce 126,000 tons of sugar annually. The Swazi Government, the Nigerian Government, the German Development Company (DEB), Coca Cola, Mitsui, the CDC and the World Bank are each involved as shareholders or financiers. One is tempted to ask what the Swazi people get out of it.[8]

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Lonrho, founded as a cattle-ranching and mining operation in 1961, with an annual turn-over of $ 160,000, had by 1983 a turnover of $ 3.6 billion, almost $ 800,000 of it in East and Southern Africa. (Kenya, Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe and South Africa) Lonrho is probably the most diversified multinational operating in Africa. Lonrho's EATEC (East Africa Toning and Extract Company) is involved in beef, maize, wood and wattle activities. It has started a mushroom project in Kenya in which it injected $ 800,000 and created only 120 jobs. In 1980, the turnover from mushrooms came to $ 1.5 million and was expected to rise to $ 11 million by 1983-84. It produces records and tapes (Zimbabwe), distributes electrical appliances (Zambia and Zimbabwe), brews traditional beer (Malawi, Uganda and Zambia), owns hotels (Mauritius and Zambia), gold mines (South Africa, Zimbabwe and Ghana). Lonrho has 55 Zimbabwe companies and has invested $ 40 million since independence.[9]

An example of MNC exploitation is noted in the contract which Kenya has given for the management of a furfural ($C_4H30CHO$) factory.

> The managing agents (who are also equity holders in the company) receive a fixed fee at the rate of $ 150,000 per annum for the first two years, to be reduced annually by $ 10,000 until it reaches a minimum of $ 100,000 per year. It is also to be paid in the currency of sale to 3 per cent of the net total sales. In addition, it is to receive 5 per cent of the net profits before tax of the company for each financial year payable in US dollars in London. Before production has commenced the managing company is to receive a total of $ 25,000 per quarter from the date of incorporation of the company...The contract does not define the net profit concerned and since the managing agents are the accountants, there is considerable scope for discretion to be exercised in their own favour."[10]

On the whole the control of the multinationals over trade is astonishing. Half a dozen MNCs control the food world : *Gill and Duffus* buys 40 per cent of the traded cocoa ; *Tate and Lyle* subsidiary *United Molasses Co.* controls 40 per cent of the molasses trade ; *Unilever* dominates the palm oil trade ; *General Foods and Nestles* dominates the coffee trade ; *Brooke Bond, Lipton* and *McLeod Russel* dominate the tea trade. In Liberia, 30.5 per cent of the total area under rubber is controlled by *Firestone*. Many more names can be added to this list.

African Economic Dependence on the West

An American textbook on international relations concedes that, "if the West or capitalist world was seriously interested in improving the rate of economic growth of the new world, it would have to accept cuts or at least retardation in its own standards of living since this level is based on a

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world system of international trade which pays the primary producers much less than it pays the producers of the finished goods."[11]

Africa's economic dependence on the metropolis, i.e., the Western World is so great that the recent recession in the Western World has led to a fall in the earnings from the exports of the African countries because of the decline in the price of export goods despite in some cases the increase in the volume of exports. On the whole the Africans today have to export more to earn the same amount of foreign exchange.[12] This problem of increasing the volume of exports to maintain the earlier level of foreign exchange earnings puts the African economy further at the mercy of western countries and the MNCs. In the process the crisis in Africa deepens further.

As the poor African nations lack adequate foreign exchange, they find it very difficult to develop their economies, especially their agriculture which could play a pivotal role in the fight against hunger and malnutrition since, for increasing agricultural production, they need modern inputs, like high yield variety of seeds, fertilizers, tractors, etc., which have to be imported.

In order to increase the volume of exports various African countries have increasingly resorted to the substitution of cash crops for food crops which further reduces the availability of food for domestic consumption and compels African countries to import food. The food problem makes African countries more dependent on the exporters of food, i.e., the Western countries.

The import of food requires borrowing funds for food purchases. The African states have to borrow at higher and higher rates of interest and consequently they have come under a heavy debt burden. In addition to this the rate of interest on aid funds received for developmental purposes has also increased from 2.5 per cent to 10.1 per cent between 1960 to 1980. This has further increased the debt burden and crisis [13]

Failure of rains and increasing soil erosion has created a severe economic crisis in Africa. Drought is related to famine and famine to food crisis. It is imperative that we understand these.

Drought-Famine-Food Crisis

Drought is widespread in Africa. For the last 15 years, it has paralysed production in more than 27 countries and created a grave food crisis in 34 countries, causing death to thousands of men, women and children. The statistics cannot convey the human suffering caused by drought, nor suggest the long-term deterioration of people's well being or the depredation to their land and environment. Thirty million people have been reduced to skeletons and thousands have died. The expanding Sahara Desert and general droughts are not a new phenomenon in Africa.

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According to available evidence it has been occurring and recurring for over a hundred years. 150 million people are hit by it today. Millions are suffering from malnutrition, thousands are starving, living on roots, bark and leaves.

According to the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), drought has become one of the major constraints on the development of African agriculture. Desertification in the Sahel region is proceeding at an alarming pace. The UNEP Conference in Nairobi was informed that the desert claims six million hectares of new land each year. In Sahel, the desert is moving at the rate of 10 km. a year on an average. Here 300,000 hectares of land is deforested in a year, out of which only10,000 hectares is replanted.

For the drought-affected countries, both exports and imports indicate a downward trend since 1980. Drought has hit exports for many countries and therefore reduced their purchasing power for imports. This decline has been an important factor for the very poor performance of African economies.

The major cause of the prolonged drought—the grimmest for almost a century –is an ecological disturbance. Other serious factors which cause drought and famine are the steady increase in population (@ 2.7 per cent), the continuing rapid urbanization and wrong agricultural policies. Climatically, drought is the result of below normal rainfall. Lack of adequate moisture in the area affected, absence of, or weakened organized atmospheric rain generating systems during the rainy season, and persistent wide-spread subsistence which often result from large-scale global atmospheric circulation, are among the major causes of drought.

The current drought-stricken areas in Africa may be affected by any one of these or a combination of the above factors. One factor that may be predominant in one area may be less significant in another.

Statistical studies made by *Ethiopian Herald* (a daily from Addis Ababa) of past weather data on rainfall and drought in Africa show that drought is a recurring climatic phenomenon but the time between consecutive droughts varies widely as does the duration and intensity of a specific drought. The statistical cycles discovered so far explain only a small fraction of the total inter-annual variations in rainfall. From a statistical standpoint, experts believe that drought is a recurring and non-periodic phenomenon which cannot be predicted accurately by cycles or trends.

Research results of paleo-climatic and historical data indicate that the climate of Africa, north of the Equator, had fluctuated between drier and wetter periods. What is clear is that drought is a normal component of climate in many parts of the tropics and sub-tropics including Africa. Therefore, economic condition of African countries, in particular the

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agricultural production systems, must be versatile enough to endure prolonged drought.

According to the World Meteorological Organization's research, rainfall and streamflow data since 1860 show that three major droughts occurred in the sub-Saharan region during the last hundred years : one in 1870-80, the other from about 1910-1920 and the third in the 1940s. The current severe drought in Africa is longer in duration and at least as intense as either of these three major droughts. Although this does not indicate that the climate has changed, Africa's population is faced with the most severe drought in this century. There is evidence that large areas of Africa are famine-prone, particularly the arid and semi-arid regions. The North African region, with some 46 million hectares of arid land and deserts covering 385 million hectares, receives less than 100 milimeters of average precipitation.

The West African region, which occupies some 140 million hectares, receives less than 200 milimeters of precipitation. Arid and desert lands form between 45 and 66 per cent of the total territory of Mauritania, Senegal, Mali, Uppervolta, Chad, Cameroun and Nigeria.

The arid lands of the East and Southern African region occupy 223.4 million hectares, with desert covering some 155 million hectares. This region receives less than 200 milimeters of precipitation. Among the man-made reasons of drought, main are deforestation and imbalanced cropping patterns. During the colonial days, timber hungry Europeans cut large tropical forests of Africa and took away massive quantities of timber to Europe without replanting new trees. This intensified deforestation, led to soil erosion and desertification.

The present drought in Africa is among the most important climatic events in the current century, because of its unusual length and severity and perhaps the sufferings it has caused. The drought has resulted in lowered water supplies, less natural pasture growth and decreased food production and other associated economic and social consequences.

Food Crisis

The lack of water necessary for irrigation and the survival of human beings, the destruction of the pastoral areas stemming from the over-utilisation of the poor natural resources by livestock, the deforestation of vast areas in search for a cheap source of energy, the incessant sand storms in some countries and severe floodings in others, and the lack of appropriate infrastructure to store, transport and distribute agricultural products, are all intensively exacerbating the already prevailing food crisis.

According to the *World Bank Report—Accelerated Development in sub-Saharan Africa*, the wheat imports by Africa between 1961 and 1963

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totalled 394,000 metric tones, between 1977-79 they totalled 2,352,000 metric tons; a six-fold increase in just 16 years.

Population—Food Production Gap

The food crisis is also due to the rate of growth of population being higher than food production. Population in Africa is growing at the rate of 2.7 per cent. Due to this phenomenal growth in population per capita food availability has fallen. In 1983, for instance, agricultural per capita production declined two per cent relative to 1982. As referred earlier, this situation has forced Africa to raise its imports to feed its population. The crisis is also due to the fact that traditional self-sufficiency came to an end during the colonial and post-colonial era and most countries were obliged to produce food products suitable for urban consumption of the high income minorities and to meet demands of external markets overlooking the needs of the local rural population,

The above position is substantiated by the World Bank. According to it, crisis in African agricultural production indicates five trends during the last two decades.

(i) The growth rate of agricultural production began to decline and in the 1970s was less than the rate of population growth almost everywhere;
(ii) Agricultural exports stagnated and African shares in the world trade declined for many commodities;
(iii) Food production per capita was at best stagnant in the 1960s and fell in the 1970s;
(iv) Commercial imports of food-grains grew more than three times as fast as population, and food aid increased substantially; and
(v) Food habits of the people changed substantially and more of the population shifted its consumption to wheat and rice instead of maize, cassava, yam, etc.[14]

The *World Bank Agenda for Action* states that in the 1960s, "agricultural production (crops and livestock) grew in volume by 2.3 per cent a year, or roughly at the same rate as population growth. In the 1970s, however, production dropped to about 1.3 per cent."[15]

In the 1970s the food production (rice, wheat, maize, millet, roots and tubers, pulses) increased annually only by an average of 1 5 per cent. In fact for Africa, as a whole in the 1970s, growth of food production was well below its growth of total population. In 1960-70 per capita annual rate of growth of food output in Africa was 0.1 per cent and in 1970-80 it fell to—1.1 per cent.[16]

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Between 1973 and 1980, about $5 billion in aid flowed into agriculture, $2·4 billion of which came from the World Bank.[17] But food aid was diverted to export cash crop production and food became scarce.

Food imports grew steadily over the past 20 years, except for sugar. Imports of cereals soared by about 9 per cent a year since the early 1960s. The net import of cereals averaged about 4.3 million tons during the late 1970s. In aggregate Africa's cereal import bill has increased ten-fold during the 1970s and food aid and food imports became increasingly necessary to stem the food-population gap. Many of the affected countries have been increasing expenditure on agricultural production, although reducing spending on food production and converting their fertile areas to produce export-cash-crops to pay debts and to pay for increasing imports, including food.

Aid Conditions and Debt Burden

The World Bank estimates that the outstanding external debt of the developing countries will, by the end of the year, reach a high figure of $980 billion—an increase of $75 billion over 1984. The estimates of the IMF are somewhat lower; $865.3 billion for 1986 and $827.7 billion for 1984—an increase of $37.6 billion in 1985 after practically the same increase last year and a $43.7 billion increase in 1983.[18]

According to the World Bank, external aid to Africa[19] is already at a relatively high level compared with other developing regions. For instance in 1980 the net per capita aid was $13.80 for Africa as against $9.60 for all developing countries. Twenty of the thirty LDCs are in Africa. Africa's medium-term prospects for growth are worse than those of any other region. Projections for 1985-95 by the World Bank in the *World Development Report 1981* indicate per capita income growth of 0.1 per cent per annum for the period 1980-90. This is also an optimistic assumption. If the conditions do not improve the growth rate is expected to be −0.5 per cent. The annual average rate of growth of GDP per capita in 1960-73 was 1.0 per cent, in 1974-78—1.0 per cent, in 1980-85 it was −1.6 per cent.[20]

Most aid is targeted not to remove poverty but to increase indebtedness. A sizeable part of aid is utilized for the development of infrastructure which creates conditions conducive to the inflow of private foreign capital, as it is argued that this would increase the foreign exchange inflow into the country and reduce its balance of payments deficit. Most of the investment which earns as much as 27 per cent in profits for the investors is incurred to finance the processing industry or cash crop production and not the production of essential commodities. This system strengthens linkages with the West and reinforces dependence of the economy on exports.

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Aid, loans and foreign investment lead to interference in the domestic economy. When IMF grants credits, its advisors also dictate the economic policies to the recipient countries; devaluation, cut in social services and public expenditure, wage freeze and contradictory monetary policies are common conditions. The African countries complain that in order to get IMF assistance in rescheduling their debt payments they can no longer meet IMF demands that they drastically reduce their public spending including food subsidies. The withdrawal of food subsidies will make food more expensive for the people and create problems for the government. The bread price rise in Tunisia was a lesson in this regard.

According to *West Africa*, a weekly from London "the IMF is increasingly seen to be performing a role not in the best interests of its borrowers".[21] *West Africa* writes that the World Bank has "its conditions and policy prescriptions, which all too frequently appear to be designed primarily to develop the poor countries for their more efficient exploitation under the existing international economic system. Bank's loans, for instance, are administered externally and purchases are by international tender, which almost always means that all inputs are imported, even where local capacity to supply them exists...The World Bank's new special programme for Sub-Saharan Africa, will make lending conditional on borrowers agreeing to policy reforms with the prospect that African countries will soon find themselves engaged with the World Bank in the kind of arguments they have carried on for several years with the IMF."[22]

Due to these strict conditions many African countries are very critical of this role of the IMF and the World Bank in Africa. For instance, Tanzania, Nigeria, Kenya and Sierra Leone accuse the World Bank and IMF of failing to fulfill their original role of channelling adequate international aid to the developing World.[23] Kenya's President Daniel Arap Moi warned that unless the World Bank and IMF are prepared to act more quickly, a number of African countries face total economic collapse. According to the Kenyan Finance Minister, George Saitoti, the basic problem with IMF assistance is over quantity, timing and conditionalities, i.e., conditions prescribed by the Fund before it agrees to provide assistance.[24] Sierra Leone President, Siaka Stevens, complains that the "IMF authorities do not appear to want to negotiate with us. They bring instructions from their home office which they want to run down our throats without any consideration of local conditions." President Stevens added: "If subsidies, particularly on food, were removed as demanded by IMF it would take Sierra Leone to a dangerous point of on return'"[25]

Despite these objections, Africans are intricately linked with IMF loan

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systems. And the increasing debt burden and the deepening economic crisis are causing concern to African leaders. President Nyerere, Chairman of the OAU, was concerned about the issue. He said : "Africa would be paying 15 billion dollars in interest alone. Of the 150 billion dollars debt which Africa owes today, Africa south of Sahara owes $90 billion meaning that it will pay (every year) about 10 or more billion dollars in interest alone."[26] This total debt burden is, according to the ECA, 180 per cent of the value of Africa's export of goods and services in one year.

According to the 1983 World Bank Development Report more than a quarter (28·3 per cent) of the export earnings of African states in 1982 was spent on debt servicing. Of the 37 countries whose official debt was rescheduled by the Paris Club between 1975 and October 1983, 16 involved Africa n countries.[27]

Even after the rescheduling, the Africans find it next to impossible to pay back these debts. African views are expressed by President Nyerere who, on his recent visit to Europe, posed the question, "If the rich refuse to discuss methods by which the Third World can repay its debts, should we continue to pay on the terms set, even at the cost of letting our people starve."[28]

President Nyerere has been pursuing the idea that African countries should not negotiate singly with their foreign creditors over re-structuring their loan commitments. His argument is that by negotiating singly the African governments are at a greater disadvantage in their dealings with international financial institutions. The African position, according to Nyerere, would be much stronger if the debtor nations faced their creditors collectively. He suggests that debt repayment should be delayed until the principle of collective bargaining is accepted.[29]

There is a general agreement amongst the leaders that if the drought and debt problems are not solved then Africa can reach a stage of total collapse. It is in the interest of both Africa and the West which has investments in Africa to take international action to avoid the collapse.

SOLUTION STRATEGIES

Both the World Bank and the Economic Commission for Africa's Conference of Ministers have recently produced reports which present a realistic assessment of the alarming prospects facing the continent in the next decade.

In order to avoid disaster, these reports call for efficient use of resources; greater donor support and flexibility of aid commitment and disbursement procedures, better utilization of existing infrastructure, and increased net capital inflows to the region at least upto the 1980-82 level.[30]

The economists concerned with the economic crisis of Africa feel that the problems need to be tackled both on an urgent and long-term basis.

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It requires : *one*, immediate measures to solve the food problems for the starving millions and, *two*, avoiding the recurrence of crisis. For long-term solutions, Africa needs structural changes in domestic and foreign-economic policies.

The most effective step which can be taken over the economic crisis in Africa is the step which will have the effect of increasing agricultural production. For increased agricultural production, fight against drought is imperative. To overcome drought which recurs unpredictably, the World Meteorological Organization (WMO) has proposed a number of solutions. The WMO suggests that all African nations affected by drought should establish national drought control plans. Specific actions should also be laid out to monitor the drought and to take necessary action in each subject area to alleviate the impact at any particular time. Second, all African nations should ensure that the weather data necessary to monitor drought are observed regularly and disseminated promptly. Third, the national meteorological services should provide tailored application services to meet the needs of agriculture, water management ,land use management, forestry, and other important economic and social resources.

According to the World Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), against a background of accelerating desertification and an exceptionally low level of literacy and development of technology in the farming communities, output needs to be increased at a rate of almost 3 per cent per annum to keep with increasing population. The FAO further recommends that governments in the region must map out policies and build institutions that effectively stimulate agricultural growth. The support of donor agencies for long-term programmes of rehabilitation must also be sustained. The long-term solution, according to FAO also includes more equitable distribution, improved marketing, food subsidies or supplements and selective price controls.

But redistribution on a scale to eliminate hunger and malnutrition would be such an enormous undertaking that for many countries it is simply not possible. Far better in the long run is to increase food production in areas where it is needed. This would mean opening up new farmlands, developing new crop varieties to withstand tougher conditions and widespread extension programmes to encourage more productive farming techniques.

However, for an eventual solution, basic structural changes in the economy, integrating into one—the subsistence and the modern sectors of the economy—are necessary for removing the dichotomy of the dual economy which prepetuates dependence and indebtedness.

To tackle the development problems of Africa the starting point must be an assessment of the Lagos Plan of Action and the Final Act of Lagos.

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The Lagos Development Strategy provides a blue-print for the pooling together of joint resources in Africa with a view to attaining self-sustaining growth of the African economies. To that end the countries of the continent have to forge inter-African cooperation both at sub-regional and regional levels. They are also called upon to resort to self-reliance in their drive to tackle the root causes of backwardness. African countries at present have no way out but to go for large scale foreign technology, capital and manpower. They should now simultaneously increase their control over the principal levers of the economy. This means, the surplus in the private sector should be reinvested for production. Foreign capital and technology should not result in total technological-dependence and production-dependence lead up to greater imports which will become a drain on the continent's resources.

Free market forces and incentives to MNC's with unrestricted competition cannot serve as long-range solutions to Africa's economic crisis. The free play of market forces is likely to lead to inflation, shortage and decline in real wages after a period of time. In case of Africa free competition, with MNCs operating, is likely to create conditions of uneven distribution of wealth and decline in the purchasing power of the people. To guard against these dangers the state has to participate in a big way in the wholesale and retail trade, manufacturing, processing, transport, production of electricity and management of irrigation schemes and ensure the supply and distribution of essential commodities.

On the international scale, Africa has to work for the setting up of a New International Economic Order, rescheduling of the debts, strengthening the collective bargaining and collective self-reliance, increasing trade and transfer of technology within the Third World countries to strengthen the economies of Africa. It should not be overlooked that if the present crisis in Africa is allowed to continue, there will be a total collapse of the African economies leading to mass scale unemployment, stagnation in production and drought resulting in mass hunger and starvation. Unless new terms of trade by the metropolitan countries, MNCs and their agencies, are worked out, Africans will find it almost impossible to recover from the economic crisis.

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UNESCO IN CRISIS

THE present crisis in the UNESCO, precipitated by America's withdrawal from membership in December 1984, is the worst in its 38 year old history. The crisis is likely to be compounded if the threatened pull-out by other Western member states is effected. Already, the United Kingdom has notified its intentions to withdraw by the end of the year if "substantial progress" to check the present trends of the agency were not made. West Germany is reported to have similar intentions, as also Canada, Belgium, Holland and Italy. Amongst their supporters in Asia are Japan and Singapore; both of them have aired grievances running on lines similar to those of their Western allies—bad management, wastefulness and an anti-western political drift in the organization. An eventuality of this kind—a large number of member states withdrawing is bound to create problems of tremendous magnitude and varying nature which may create a serious crisis for the organization. It is time therefore that the 161 member agency addresses itself to the basic issues that this crisis has raised.

The first and the most immediate issue (though not necessarily the most important) confronting the organization concerns the financial implications involved in such a pull-out. In this context it would be appropriate to note that UNESCO's major contributors are spearheading the withdrawal move. Already America's withdrawal has left the organization poorer by $43 million a year, a 25 per cent contribution to the UNESCO budget. If Britain also departs by the end of 1985, as it has already notified, it would mean a loss of another 5 per cent to the annual budget, as Britain's contribution stands at $ 4 million a year. Canada and Japan, also outspoken critics of the present situation, and paying 3 and 10 per cent respectively of the UNESCO budget have indicated their intentions to withdraw if the General Conference, scheduled for the fall in Sophia (Bulgaria), failed to achieve substantial reforms. Similar doubts have also been expressed by other member states—Singapore, Australia, Belgium, Holland and Italy. West Germany with an annual 8.43 per cent contribution has also expressed fears of being compelled to move out if the present crisis situation were not averted. The French Government, a one time warm supporter of the UNESCO Director General, Ahmadou Mahtar M'Bow, has threatened to hold up a $ 2 million emergency credit granted voluntarily last year—following United States' departure—until there is some evidence of reform. France's move, an obvious corollary to its embarrassment at the degenerating crisis in UNESCO, is also likely to add to the organization's financial problems.

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These financial cuts, along with those which would arise in the event of withdrawal by Western member states, highlight the basic issue of the survival of UNESCO. Nevertheless, it is heartening to note that member states have not lost courage and have geared themselves to resolve the portending financial crisis. The UNESCO Executive Board, on which are represented 51 member states and which met in February this year, has already set afoot an exercise to work out a financial plan enabling a cover up of the short fall of $ 43 million—the American contribution to the agency's budget. Of the shortfall, $ 8 million is to be voluntarily contributed by member states making an extra contribution or by foregoing rebates due to them from a fund designed to allow for changes in the value of the dollars. The biggest "voluntary" contributor is the USSR, which has proposed to give an additional $ 2.2 million to its usual annual contribution approximating 15 per cent of the annual budget. India announced that it would give up a $ 500,000 refund from the currency account. Others conveying their decision to forego returns due to them from the currency fluctuation fund are Mexico and a large number of other Latin American and African countries. A further $ 7.7 million has been saved by chiselling various programmes and another $ 7 million found by freezing 290 staff posts. A variety of other changes have enabled an additional $ 10.3 million, leaving a gap of just $ 10 million to fill. This gap, as Director General M'Bow suggested, could be plugged by drawing on the inflation reserve fund, an account specially maintained to top up funding of its programmes if inflation overtook them. The budget thus appears to be miraculously balanced bringing to nought the charge that American withdrawal would severely affect the viability of the organization. However, it would be well for UNESCO to also cut on the current level of the bureaucracy which is certainly unnecessarily top heavy and pampered with fat tax-free salaries, and invest a larger share of the budget in practical, cost effective and result-oriented programmes. If this could be attained it would not only meet the American blackmail tactics, inspired by a desire to have a veto over any programme, but also evolve a more effective work style for the UN system and other international organizations.

The other important question that UNESCO member states need to address themselves to is the relevance and legitimacy of the institution, as was intended by the founding fathers, in the present changed international environment. For this, a critical assessment of the arguments advanced by Washington, London and Bonn to justify their stance against the international agency's activities must be made in the backdrop of its constitutional provisions. The United States State Department in its withdrawal notice served on 29 December 1983, complained that

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UNESCO's activities were politically biased and that it had allowed itself to serve "anti-US political ends" by increasingly playing into the hands of the Soviet Union and its philosophy. The statement also accused UNESCO of carrying out "misguided policies and tendentious programmes" that were hostile to the institutions of the free press especially those concerning the freedom of the press and human rights. The United States Assistant Secretary of State for International Organizations, Gregory J. Newell has been more forthright in his accusations. There was, he said, "a serious problem of politicisation throughout with issues coming up such as South Africa, Israel and Disarmament—issues well beyond its area of specialization." All these he went on to charge were "Soviet inspired" involving more than $ 7.5 lakhs while hardly $ 32,32,000 was approved for the education of refugee children around the world. Newell was also critical of UNESCO's "statist approach to new world orders," such as the New World Information and Communications Order and the economic proposals regarded as hostile to the free enterprise system in the industrial world. He opposed the implications involved in the universal standards governing the content of news and information to be established under the order. To these, Newell has added the charges of "budgetary extravagance" and mismanagement. He pointed that the organization had been lagging behind in recruiting the right people for the right jobs. Besides, the United States did not get its quota of professional posts; out of a total 2500 Paris-based employees and 1000 at the various regional centres, 700 to 900 "policy posts" had been given to the Third World countries, while the United States had just 89 employees, much below its quota of 123. The result of this mismanagement was that the organization could not effectively implement its programmes. At a personal level, M'Bow was charged with favouritism and nepotism. It was also stated that the Director General occupied a luxuriously appointed free apartment on the top floor of the headquarters building in Paris.

Other Western sympathizers of the United States voiced similar concern for the agency's programmes and policies believed to be antithetical to their own. The most significant aspect of criticisms by Britain, Holland and West Germany focused on issues concerning the new information and communications programmes, which they believe, has promoted the concept of state control of the media despite the Director General's assurance to the contrary. These countries, along with Japan, Australia and others feel that the medium term plans also de-emphasized the concepts of individual human rights in favour of a concept of "peoples' rights" closely linked to the Soviet concept of national sovereignty. Making these charges, Britain indicated early in Febuary this year its intentions to withdraw from the agency by the end of this year. At the

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same time, it has called for "reduced UNESCO activity" in the controversial areas of its support for the new information order and the peoples' rights as distinct from individual rights and has demanded structural reforms to check the degeneration of the agency.

The widespread anti-UNESCO campaign on both sides of the Atlantic and the charges and accusations of a growing anti-western bias, "statist" approach favouring the state at the expense of free enterprise on issues like a world information order and mismanagement seem to betray a definite political motivation. Western member states fail to appreciate that not only has the structure of the United Nations agency set up in 1946 totally changed but what is more significant is that the international environment in which it operates has also undergone a sea change. From an elitist body of 20 industrialised nations, entrusted with the task of directing and accelerating the pace of exchange of knowledge, the UNESCO has been transformed into a genuinely global body dominated at least numerically by Third World nations. The outlook of these nations on world problems is understandably different. In this connection it is also interesting to note the recent comments of the United Kingdom Foreign Affairs Committee's Special Report on Britain's relations with UNESCO. According to it much of the organization's problems inevitably spring from the changing nature of membership. "Its original membership", it says, "was only about 25 and did not include all the founding members of the United Nations. Most notably, the USSR did not become a member of UNESCO until 1954. UNESCO was thus, initially, a predominantly western and Latin American organization pursuing avowedly western intellectual and cultural aims and cultural values." The recent accession, in the early 80's, to membership of the East European bloc and the emergence of a large number of sovereign states has naturally brought about a change in its thinking and policies. The former West-East dimension has now been replaced by distinct South-North orientations. In such a situation, the United States and its Western allies find themselves in a minority in programmes decision-making and naturally take recourse to the plea of politicisation.

It is also interesting to note that the policies and practices of the *apartheid* South African regime, the occupation of Arab lands by the military forces of Israel, blatant disregard of human rights, discrimination against minorities and the issues of peace and disarmament have been raised, discussed and opposed continuously since 1946. Why then, one may ask, the Western states see red in the programmes, having a thrust on peace and disarmament? These are two goals on which no two people differ. Again, one may ask, why is it that these countries have decided at this crucial juncture to leave the organization? The basic purpose of the UNESCO, as its Charter states, "is to contribute to peace and security" and "since wars begin in the minds of men it is in

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the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed." Further, the Charter adds "that ignorance of each others ways and lives has been a common cause, throughout the history of mankind, of that suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war; that···the denial of the democratic principles of the dignity, equality, and mutual respect of men and by the propagation in their place, through ignorance and prejudice of the doctrine of the inequality of men and races," has been responsible for the great and terrible war [1]

UNESCO does not exist in a vacuum, it functions as a part of the prevailing international system. It is bound to be concerned with the prevailing issues of peace, war, disarmament, a new world economic order and a just and fair information and communications system. Further, neither can these issues be divorced from the ideological and political problems of the age even while conceding their human, cultural and historical points of view. For instance, is it possible to wipe out illiteracy, resuscitate indigenous cultural norms and effect cooperation amongst the developing nations without taking into account the causes of their backwardness, the legacy of colonialism and counteracting neo-colonialist policies ? Then again is it possible to effect this cooperation in the fields of education, science and culture in an environment other than a peaceful one ?

In fact UNESCO's anti-colonial, anti-racist and peace and disarmament policies are not only an indication of the effective implementation of the provisions of the Charter,[2] but also a striving by the agency to march with the times. In this context an important activity which in fact has come in for strident criticism, has been the promotion and development of mass media and the establishment of norms of free flow of information. But this also, one notes, forms one of the Charter provisions. The organization will "collaborate in the work of advancing the mutual knowledge and understanding of peoples, through all means of mass communication and to that end recommend such international agreements as may be necessary to promote the free flow of ideals by word and image."[3] If this be described by Washington, London and Bonn as politicisation, it certainly is unavoidable. In a world of international tensions and disorders, a world divided between the power politics of the rich and the mighty, it is but natural that the poor, deprived and underdeveloped nations, would use every forum possible to air their grievances. Besides, it is but fair that issues concerning human values and aspirations should take precedence over specialized and more material questions. Above all, as M'Bow himself has observed, "UNESCO is an intergovernment organization like other agencies in the UN system. What is represented in such an organization but member-states ? It is government representatives who come and discuss, and the governments

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are not technical but political." Naturally, some nations, if not all, do try to steer the deliberations and to gain advantage by getting decisions which would subserve their interests. UNESCO, however, M'Bow asserted, has endeavoured to overcome the conflicts and enable the organization to carry out its programmes. Thus, the charges of politicisation, do not hold any ground.

Inherent in the Western withdrawal warning following the United States, is also a total disregard of the principles of universality, equality and multilateral cooperation—concepts basic to the objectives of UNESCO, as also the United Nations whose agency it is. The retreat manoeuvres are obviously intended to force the majority of the developing member states to bow before the wishes of the United States and its allies for it is the latter who bear a sizeable brunt of the annual contributions. Moreover, the United States has never minced words in often stating that since it foots a fourth of the UNESCO bill it should have some say in the decision-making; Jeanne Kirkpatrick, the United States' representative to the United Nations stated, "those who pay the bill don't have the votes and those who have the votes don't pay the bill." Again, at the last General Conference the United States was the only member state to vote against the $ 374 million budget wanting it to be reduced to zerc level or to a negative growth rate. At the same time, inherent in the earlier US condition for not quitting the agency—that UNESCO programmes should receive the approval of more than 85 per cent member states—lay the seeds of a desire for securing once again the right of veto along with the 24 other West Europen member states. However, not only would such a move severely affect the quality of service that the organization could provide to the underdeveloped member countries but would also be contrary to the Charter provisions. On this issue, the Charter specifically provides: "Each member shall have one vote in the General Conference. Decisions shall be made by a simple majority except in cases in which a two-thirds majority is required...."[4]

Further, if international organizations were to accept the American argument that those who pay should be entitled to call the tune, there would be no multilateral cooperation but rather dominance by a few over the many. Thus what is at stake are principles basic to the very concepts of international cooperation.

Whatever the implications of the withdrawal and the threat of retreat—financial, as also those pertaining to the basic concepts of the United Nations agency—it is time that the developing countries take the initiative to resist the attempted blackmail and defend and protect their rights, at least as assured to them by the United Nations Charter. It is in this context, that the bold move by the Conference of Non-Aligned Information Ministers held in Jakarta in January 1984, to endorse the stand of the UNESCO Director-General, Ahmadou Mahtar M' Bow,

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that the international body will not yield to the threats and pressures meant to divert its universalist nature and policies, should be extolled. The Conference resolution noted with concern the systematic attempts to discredit UNESCO and render it ineffective by holding back the realisation of a new world information and communications order. It affirmed the need to uphold the universal character of UNESCO and expressed full support for and confidence in the UNESCO Director General. Also to be acclaimed are the continued Indian and other non-aligned nations' efforts to find a solution to the crisis.

India, a founding member, has remained faithful to the agency and its objectives even while appreciating that these were troubled times. Inam Rehman, India's Ambassador to UNESCO, has in this context succinctly stated that it is "a time not of crisis but of introspection and self criticism." For T.N. Kaul, the Indian representative on the agency's Executive Committee, the Western withdrawal moves threatened the very existence of the organization and the whole UN system. "We are faced with a situation that must change for the better or destroy the twin pillars of international cooperation on which UNESCO in particular and the UN system in general is founded," he said at a meeting of the Executive Committee in February this year. Since there was no alternative to UNESCO and the UN system "in the interdependent thermo-nuclear world of today," he went on to add, "let us not destroy the system we have built up for the last 40 years and try to rebuild it on the ashes of what may survive."

India in fact, along with other African and Asian countries, has steadfastly supported the need for reforms in the agency so as to enable it to play an active and more constructive role in the international arena of education, science and communications. It has also been an active member of the Temporary Committee set up to monitor reforms called for by the UNESCO Executive Board during its 19 Session in May 1984. This need for constructive and continuing support has been further underscored by the Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi when he addressed the organization in June this year. "UNESCO" he said, "has problems. We know that almost all international organizations are under pressure today because strong nations have tried to bend them to their purposes. There is in fact an unfortunate retreat from multilateralism and internationalism. All who care for a saner and more equitable world must come to the help of UNESCO in its hour of trial. There is no human institution that cannot work better than it is doing. But to turn away from UNESCO is to turn away from universal cooperation and to reject the democracy of international relations in world bodies...." India he went on to add, would "support any constructive effort which will resolve UNESCO's dilemmas."

To resolve the present crisis, India along with the Non-Aligned countries has initiated the setting up of a seven member group consisting of

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representatives from Africa, Latin America and the Western countries—Canada, Sweden and Switzerland. The combined Non-aligned and G.77 group, which consists of 18 members, has also joined efforts to ensure that a confrontation is avoided and the present crisis amicably resolved.

Given the need for administrative reforms to bring down the costs of the top heavy international agency, it cannot be gainsaid that UNESCO with its commendable aims and objectives, as also the work it has undertaken for the diffusion of science, education and culture, and in recent years the free flow of information, has come to the crossroads. Its relevance and usefulness in the present international system of heightened tensions is even more than when it was started. There is at this time a special need for every UNESCO member state to display realism, a considered approach to topical problems and a sense of responsibility for the future of the world. To withdraw from the organization at this time is certainly not the best way to overcome the defects in its activities. A better way would certainly be to stay on and work for change from within. Instead, the United States with its anti-UNESCO campaign is making special efforts to have Britain and West Germany to withdraw. It is no longer a secret that strong pressure, both political and through the press was brought to bear on Britain. The American UNESCO representative, Ms. Jean Gerard, was sent to London to persuade the British authorities to follow America's example of quitting. At the same time, the Western press has carried on its unbridled campaign to undermine the image and credibility of UNESCO. Not to be disregarded in this context is the pernicious role of the American Heritage Foundation, the ultra-conservative think tank of the Reagan administration backed by another right-wing movement the Moral Majority. Substantial documentary evidence of their involvement was provided by Granada, a British television company's programme titled—"The World in Action."

It must also be noted that all these attacks, are in effect, directed not only against UNESCO but against the United Nations and its basic principles of universality and the equality of its members. M'Bow himself has stated : "UNESCO was not set up to serve the interests of one state or any particular group of states." It is therefore time that some action were taken to check these campaigns and prevent an understimation of its role; as stated by the distinguished Indian representative, Prem Kripal, to UNESCO: "The torch of liberty is lit by an abiding faith in the sanctity of human spirit, and its spark is maintained by tolerance and patience to convert people by persuasion and hope. To quit any scene of disappointment in anger is not edifying to the defenders of liberty nor its detractors. The global village must hold together to overcome its problems and perils."[55]

VANITA RAY

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REFERENCES

1 *Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization,* Preamble.

2 The Preamble of the Constitution states : "that the great and terrible war which has now ended was a war made possible by the denial of the democratic principles of the dignity, equality and mutual respect of men, and by the propagation, in their place, through ignorance and prejudice of the doctrine of the inequality of men and races."
and "that a peace based exclusively upon the political and economic arrangements of governments, would not be a peace which would secure the unanimous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world, and that the peace must therefore be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind."

3 *UNESCO Constitution*, Article I. 2 (a).

4 *UNESCO Constitution* C. 8.

5 "Role of UNESCO and Present Crisis" in *Patriot* (New Delhi), 25 April 1984.

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CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

London, 16 November 1945

THE Governments of the States parties to this Constitution on behalf of their peoples declare, that since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed;

that ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause, throughout the history of mankind, of that suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war;

that the great and terrible war which has now ended was a war made possible by the denial of the democratic principles of the dignity, equality and mutual respect of men, and by the propagation, in their place, through ignorance and prejudice, of the doctrine of the inequality of men and races;

that the wide diffusion of culture, and the education of humanity for justice and liberty and peace are indispensable to the dignity of man and constitute a sacred duty which all the nations must fulfil in a spirit of mutual assistance and concern;

that a peace based exclusively upon the political and economic arrangements of governments would not be peace which could secure the unanimous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world, and that the peace must therefore be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind.

For these reasons, the States parties to this Constitution, believing in full and equal opportunities for education for all, in the unrestricted pursuit of objective truth, and in the free exchange of ideas and knowledge, are agreed and determined to develop and to increase the means of communication between their peoples and to employ these means for the purposes of mutual understanding and a truer and more perfect knowledge of each other's lives;

In consequence whereof they do hereby create the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization for the purpose of advancing, through the educational and scientific and cultural relations of the objectives of international peace and of the common welfare of mankind for which the United Nations Organization was established and which its Charter proclaims.

Article 1

PURPOSES AND FUNCTIONS

1. The purpose of the organization is to contribute to peace and secu-

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rity by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed for the peoples of the world, without distinction of race, sex, language or religion, by the Charter of the United Nations.

2. To realize this purpose the Organization will :

(a) collaborate in the work of advancing the mutual knowledge and understanding of peoples, through all means of mass communication and to that end recommend such international agreements as may be necessary to promote the free flow of ideas by word and image;

(b) give fresh impulse to popular education and to the spread of culture;

by collaborating with Members, at their request, in the development of educational activities;

by insitituting collaboration among the nations to advance the ideal of equality of educational opportunity without regard to race, sex or any distinctions, economic or social;

by suggesting educational methods best suited to prepare the children of the world for the responsibilities of freedom;

(c) maintain, increase and diffuse knowledge;

by assuring the conservation and protection of the world's inheritance of books, works of art and monuments of history and science, and recommending to the nations concerned the necessary international conventions :

by encouraging cooperation among the nations in all branches of intellectual activity, including the international exchange of persons active in the fields of education, science and culture and the exchange of publications, objects of artistic and scientific interest and other materials of information ;

by initiating methods of international cooperation calculated to give the people of all countries access to the printed and published materials produced by any of them.

3. With a view to preserving the independence, integrity and fruitful diversity of the cultures and educational systems of the States Members of this Organization, the Organization is prohibited from intervening in matters which are essentially within their domestic jurisdiction.

Article II

MEMBERSHIP

1. Membership of the United Nations Organization shall carry with it the right to membership of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

2. Subject to the conditions of the agreement between this Organiza-

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tion and the United Nations Organization, approved pursuant to Article X of this Constitution, States not members of the United Nations Organization may be admitted to membership of the Organization, upon recommendation of the Executive Board, by a two-thirds majority vote of the General Conference.

3. Members of the Organization which are suspended from the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership of the United Nations Organization shall, upon the request of the latter, be suspended from the rights and privileges of this Organization.

4. Members of the Organization which are expelled from the United Nations Organization shall automatically cease to be members of this Organization.

Article III

ORGANS

The Organization shall include a General Conference, an Executive Board and a Secretariat.

Article IV

THE GENERAL CONFERENCE

A. Composition

1. The General Conference shall consist of the representatives of the States Members of the Organization. The Government of each Member State shall appoint not more than five delegates, who shall be elected after consultation with the National Commission, if established, or with educational, scientific and cultural bodies.

B. Functions

2. The General Conference shall determine the policies and the main lines of work of the Organization. It shall take decisions on programmes drawn up by the Executive Board.

3. The General Conference shall, when it deems it desirable, summon international conferences on education, the sciences and humanities and the dissemination of knowledge.

4. The General Conference shall, in adopting proposals for submission to the Member States, distinguish between recommendations and international conventions submitted for their approval. In the former case a majority vote shall suffice; in the latter case a two-thirds majority shall be required. Each of the Member States shall submit recommendations or conventions to its competent authorities within a period of one

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year from the close of the session of the General Conference at which they were adopted.

5. The General Conference shall advise the United Nations Organization on the educational, scientific and cultural aspects of matters of concern to the latter, in accordance with the terms and procedure agreed upon between the appropriate authorities of the two Organizations.

6. The General Conference shall receive and consider the reports submitted periodically by Member States as provided by Article VIII.

7. The General Conference shall elect the members of the Executive Board and, on the recommendation of the Board, shall appoint the Director-General.

C. Voting

8. Each Member State shall have one vote in the General Conference. Decisions shall be made by a simple majority except in cases in which a two-thirds majority is required by the provisions of this Constitution. A majority shall be a majority of the Members present and voting.

D. Procedure

9. The General Conference shall meet annually in ordinary session; it may meet in extraordinary session on the call of the Executive Board. At each session the location of its next session shall be designated by the General Conference and shall vary from year to year.

10. The General Conference shall, at each session, elect a President and other officers and adopt rules of procedure.

11. The General Conference shall set up special and technical committees and such other subordinate bodies as may be necessary for its purposes.

12. The General Conference shall cause arrangements to be made for public access to meetings, subject to such regulations as it shall prescribe.

E. Observers

13. The General Conference, on the recommendation of the Executive Board and by a two-thirds majority, may, subject to its rules of procedure, invite as observers at specified sessions of the Conference or of its commissions representatives of international organisations, such as those referred to in Article XI, paragraph 4.

Article V

EXECUTIVE BOARD

A. Composition

1. The Executive Board shall consist of eighteen members elected by

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the General Conference from among the delegates appointed by the Member States, together with the President of the Conference who shall sit *ex officio* in an advisory capacity.

2. In electing the members of the Executive Board the General Conference shall endeavour to include persons competent in the arts, the humanities, the sciences, education and the diffusion of ideas, and qualified by their experience and capacity to fulfil the administrative and executive duties of the Board. It shall also have regard to the diversity of cultures and a balanced geographical distribution. Not more than one national of any Member State shall serve on the Board at any one time, the President of the Conference excepted.

3. The elected members of the Executive Board shall serve for a term of three years, and shall be immediately eligible for a second term, but shall not serve consecutively for more than two terms. At the first election eighteen members shall be elected of whom one-third shall retire at the end of the first year and one-third at the end of the second year, the order of retirement being determined immediately after the election by the drawing of lots. Thereafter six members shall be elected each year.

4. In the event of the death or resignation of one of its members, the Executive Board shall appoint, from among the delegates of the member State concerned, a substitute, who shall serve until the next session of the General Conference which shall elect a member for the remainder ofthe term.

B. Functions

5. The Executive Board, acting under the authority of the General Conference, shall be responsible for the execution of the programme adopted by the Conference and shall prepare its agenda and programme of work.

6. The Executive Board shall recommend to the General Conference the admission of new members to the Organization.

7. Subject to decisions of the General Conference, the Executive Board shall adopt its own rules of procedure. it shall elect its officers from among its members.

8. The Executive Board shall meet in regular session at least twice a year and may meet in special session if convoked by the Chairman on his own initiative or upon the request of six members of the Board.

9. The Chairman of the Executive Board shall present to the General Conference, with or without comment, the annual report of the Director-General on the activities of the Organization, which shall have been previously submitted to the Board.

10. The Executive Board shall make all necessary arrangements to consult the representatives of international organizations or qualified

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persons concerned with questions within its competence.

11. The members of the Executive Board shall exercised the powers delegated to them by the General Conference on behalf of the Conference as a whole and not as representatives of their respective Governments.

Article VI

SECRETARIAT

1. The Secretariat shall consist of a Director-General and such staff as may be required.

2. The Director-General shall be nominated by the Executive Board and appointed by the General Conference for a period of six years, under such conditions as the Conference may approve, and shall be eligible for reapointment. He shall be the chief administrative officer of the Organization.

3. The Director-General, or a deputy designated by him, shall participate, without the right to vote, in all meetings of the General Conference, of the Executive Board, and of the committees of the Organization. He shall formulate proposals for appropriate action by the Conference and the Board.

4. The Director-General shall appoint the staff of the Secretariat in accordance with staff regulations to be approved by the General Conference. Subject to the paramount consideration of securing the highest standards of integrity, efficiency and technical competence, appointment to the staff shall be on as wide a geographical basis as possible.

5. The responsibilities of the Director-General and of the staff shall be exclusively international in character. In the discharge of their duties they shall not seek or receive instructions from the Government or from any authority external to the Organization. They shall refrain from any action which might prejudice their position as international officials. Each State Member of the Organization undertakes to respect the international character of the responsibilities of the Director-General and the staff, and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their duties.

6. Nothing in this Article shall preclude the Organization from entering into special arrangements within the United Nations Organization for common services and staff and for the interchange of personnel.

Article VII

NATIONAL COOPERATING BODIES

1. Each Member State shall make such arrangements as suit its particular conditions for the purpose of associating its principal bodies interested in educational, scientific and cultural matters with the work of the

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Organization, preferably by the formation of a National Commission broadly representative of the Government and such bodies.

2. National Commissions or national cooperating bodies, where they exist, shall act in an advisory capacity to their respective delegations to the General Conference and to their Governments in matters relating to the Organization and shall function as agencies of liaison in all matters of interest to it.

3. The Organization may, on the request of a Member State delegate, either temporarily or permanently, a member of its Secretariat to serve on the National Commission of that State, in order to assist in the development of its work.

Article VIII

REPORTS BY MEMBER STATES

Each Member State shall report periodically to the Organization, in a manner to be determined by the General Conference, on its laws, regulations and statistics relating to educational, scientific and cultural life and institutions, and on the action taken upon the recommendations and conventions referred to in Article IV, paragraph 4.

Article IX

BUDGET

1. The budget shall be administered by the Organization.
2. The General Conference shall approve and give final effect to the budget and to the apportionment of financial responsibility among the States Members of the Organization subject to such arrangement with the United Nations as may be provided in the agreement to be entered into pursuant to Article X.
3. The Director-General, with the approval of the Executive Board, may receive gifts, bequests, and subventions directly from Governments, public and private institutions, associations and private persons.

Article X

RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION

This Organization shall be brought into relation with the United Nations Organization, as soon as practicable, as one of the specialized agencies referred to in Article 57 of the Charter of the United Nations. This relationship shall be effected through an agreement with the United Nations Organization under Article 63 of the Charter, which agreement shall be subject to the approval of the General Conference of this Organization. The agreement shall provide for effective cooperation between the two

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Organizations in the pursuit of their common purposes, and at the same time shall recognize the autonomy of this Organization, within the fields of its competence as defined in this Constitution. Such agreement may, among other matters, provide for the approval and financing of the budget of the Organization by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Article XI

RELATIONS WITH OTHER SPECIALIZED INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND AGENCIES

1. This Organization may cooperate with other specialized inter-governmental organizations and agencies whose interests and activities are related to its purposes. To this end the Director-General, acting under the general authority of the Executive Board, may establish effective working relationships with such organizations and agencies and establish such joint committees as may be necessary to assure effective cooperation. Any formal arrangements entered into with such organizations or agencies shall be subject to the approval of the Executive Board.

2. Whenever the General Conference of this Organization and the competent authorities of any other specialized inter-governmental organizations or agencies whose purposes and functions lie within the competence of this Organization deem it desirable to effect a transfer of their resources and activities to this Organization, the Director-General subject to the approval of the Conference, may enter into mutually acceptable arrangements for this purposes.

3. This Organization may make appropriate arrangements with other inter-governmental organizations for reciprocal representation at meetings.

4. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization may make suitable arrangements for consultation and cooperation with non-governmental international organizations concerned with matters within its competence, and may invite them to undertake specific tasks. Such cooperation may also include appropriate participation by representatives of such organizations on advisory committees set up by the General Conference.

Article XII

LEGAL STATUS OF THE ORGANIZATION

The provisions of Articles 104 and 105 of the Charter of the United Nations Organization concerning the legal status of that Organization, its privileges and immunities shall apply in the same way to this Organization.

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Article XIII

AMMENDMENTS

1. Proposals for amendments to this Constitution shall become effective upon receiving the approval of the General Conference by a two-thirds majority; provided, however, that those amendments which involve fundamental alterations in the aims of the Organization or new obligations for the Member States shall require subsequent acceptance on the part of two-thirds of the Member States before they come into force. The draft texts of proposed amendments shall be communicated by the Director-General to the Member States at least six months in advance of their consideration by the General Conference.

2. The General Conference shall have power to adopt by a two-thirds majority rules of procedure for carrying out the provisions of this Article.

Article XIV

INTERPRETATION

1. The English and French texts of this Constitution shall be regarded as equally authoritative,

2. Any question or dispute concerning the interpretation of this Constitution shall be referred for determination to the International Court of Justice or to an arbitral tribunal, as the General Conference may determine under its rules of procedure.

Article XV

ENTRY INTO FORCE

1. This Constitution shall be subject to acceptance. The instruments of acceptance shall be deposited with the Government of the United Kingdom.

2. This Constitution shall remain open for signature in the archives of the Government of the United Kingdom. Singnature may take place either before or after the deposit of the instrument of acceptance. No acceptance shall be valid unless preceeded or followed by signature.

3. This Constitution shall come into force when it has been accepted by twenty of its signatories. Subsequent acceptances shall take effect immediately.

4. The Government of the United Kingdom will inform all members of the United Nations of the receipt of all instruments of acceptance and of the date on which the Constitution comes into force in accordance with the preceding paragraph.

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In faith whereof, the undersigned, duly authorized to that effect, have signed this Constitution in the English and French languages, both texts being equally authentic.

Done in London the sixteenth day of November, 1945, in a single copy, in the English and French languages, of which certified copies will be communicated by the Government of the United Kingdom to the Governments of all the Members of the United Nations.

The Governments of the following countries were represented at the Conference at which the Constitution was adopted :

Argentine Republic
Australia
Belgium
Bolivia
Brazil
Canada
Chile
China
Colombia
Cuba
Czechoslovakia
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
El Salvador
Egypt
France
Greece
Guatemala
Haiti
India
Iran
Iraq
Lebanon
Liberia
Luxembourg
Mexico
Netherlands, The
New Zealand
Nicaragua
Norway
Panama
Peru

The following international organizations were also represented by Observers :

International Labour Organization
League of Nations Secretariat
League of Nations Committee on Intellectual Cooperation
International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation
Pan-American Union
United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA)
International Bureau of Education.

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Philippines, The
Poland
Saudi Arabia
Syria
Turkey
Unionof South Africa
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
United States of America
Uruguay
Venezuela (represented by an Observer)
Yugoslavia

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ARMS AND SURVIVAL

A Review Article

THIS is a compendium of essays written by distinguished academicians, diplomats, social workers and thinkers—Indian and foreign.* The essays written in the wake of the failure ("dismal failure" as the editors have remarked) of the Second Special Session of the United Nations on Disarmament held in June-July 1982, draw special attention to the continuing arms race between the Super Powers. The editors point out that fifty years earlier the First Disarmament Conference was held at Geneva. That half a century later, after a prolonged and devastating war was fought in Europe. Africa and Asia, where nuclear bombs were used, the leading powers are once again frantically building up their nuclear and non-nuclear arsenals. This ought indeed to be of utmost concern to all.

The book opens with Rajni Kothari's paper outlining a conceptual framework designed to examine various aspects of disarmament and the implications of the on-going nuclear arms race. Rikhi Jaipal, a veteran diplomat well aware of how the nuclear "haves" conduct disarmament negotiations, notes sadly that Clausewitz's dictum that war is a continuation of diplomacy by other means has not been outmoded by nuclear weapons. The newly independent countries yearn for change, which their erstwhile colonial masters resist by all means open to them, fair and not so fair. This is one cause for conflict. The other is the rivalry between, and mutual suspicions of the Super Powers. This theme has been discussed in other essays as well and appropriately so since that is the most important reason for the spiralling arms race. Miles D. Wolpin, in his short but comprehensive essay, has drawn attention to the enormous social cost of militarisation in all countries, developed and developing. Of particular concern to the entire world is USA's nuclear build up and even more its readiness to launch a "first strike." Reagan's "administration if not neo-fascist, is at least genuinely reactionary", has cut back on welfare and increased military expenditure, he notes. Reagan's rhetoric and frantic war preparations may lead either to a first strike by US forces or a preemptive strike by the Soviets out of fear. Subsequent to Wolpin's presentation of his essay on militarisation, a new dimension has been added to strategic warfare by Reagan's plans for building a space weapon systems. Although the declared objective of developing beam weapon systems is to shoot down enemy nuclear weapons before they enter US or allied air space, "the only finish line in space weapons race," according to the American Centre for Defence Information, "would be war."

* Radhakrishna and Mahendra Agarwal (*Ed.*) : *Arms and Survival* (Gandhi Peace Foundation, New Delhi, 1982), 312 pp., Rs. 150.

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In his thought provoking essay, which supplements Wolpin's, Ashok Kapur draws attention to the fact that no progress has been made in respect of the points agreed to by consensus at the United Nations Session on Disarmament in 1978, namely Strategic Arms Limitation (SALT), Comprehensive Test Ban (CTBT) and ban on chemical weapons. He also draws attention to the climate of mutual suspicions that characterise US-Soviet relations. Arms reduction seems unlikely given USA's plans for modernisation of its nuclear weapons, acquisition of bases around the globe and plans to develop space weapons.

Very pertinently, Kapur draws attention to the fact that the North, which is over armed, has to reduce its weapon stock piles in order to reduce international tensions. Also the South, for maintaining its security, may need arms, nuclear and conventional, since it is underarmed and has to safeguard its security.

This theme has been further elaborated in Marek Thee's paper—"Militarism and Human Rights : their Inter-relationship." Before the First World War, militarism was a facet of imperialism and colonial exploitation. In the inter-war years it was the visible expression and instrument of colonialism as well as of fascism. Today militarism has spread around the globe. There is the Super Powers arms race with its global implication and there is also the semi-anarchical spread of the use of force within the nation state system. The reason for the growth of militarism in the most heavily armed and most highly industrialised country is its anxiety to extend its influence over the entire world and especially over regions owning oil and other natural resources. It may be added that it has suited this power to support military or other authoritarian regimes in developing countries in order the better to control such countries.

Richard A Falk in "Nuclear Weapons, End of Democracy and Prospects for Disarmament," draws attention to the "external" and "internal" dimensions of militarism, the first concerning the behaviour of states *vis-a-vis* other states and the second concerning a state dealing with its own people. In both cases it is the use of violence and coercion to achieve state policy. "No modern leader understood this more clearly and fundamentally than Mahatma Gandhi", Falk points out, adding that Gandhiji was convinced that the only way to achieve world peace is to effect "a radical break in habitual reliance by governments on violence to achieve order." A mass movement of people the world over alone can induce governments to consider disarmament, even nuclear disarmament, seriously.

Two important reasons why public opinion the world over against nuclear weapons needs to be mobilised are :

1 "The existence of nuclear weapons could fundamentally alter government-citizen relations. If citizens no longer sense a nuclear threat, popular support for the maintenance of nuclear forces could fade—

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and governments might feel themselves compelled to provide for deterrence without the consent of the governed."
(Quoted from David Gompert—*Nuclear Weapons and World Politics.*

2 "I discovered going back to Truman who made such (i.e. nuclear) threats in 1950, that every term of every President has seen the serious recommendation by the Joint Chiefs of Staff of plans involving the *initiation* of nuclear warfare under certain circumstances. More significantly at least four Presidents have secretly authorised advanced preparations for such first use or have actually threatened adversaries with first use in an on going crisis."
(Quoted from Daniel Ellsberg—*Nuclear Armament : An Interview*, Conservation Press.)

In the course of the same *Interview* Ellsberg had also indicated that USA's nuclear threats are invariably against non-nuclear developing countries considered to be close to the Soviet Union. President Nixon's disclosure that the deployment of the nuclear armed *USS Enterprise* in the Bay of Bengal during the Bangladesh War of Independence was against this country would confirm the correctness of Ellsberg's observations.

Another equally disquieting aspect of America's nuclear war preparations is that several accidents involving nuclear weapons and installations have occured from time to time as also thefts of weapon grade nuclear material which remain unaccounted. Such irresponsibility could extend to the use of nuclear weapons too, in a crisis.

For these and other valid reasons, especially the acute poverty of millions in the developing world, Jan Martensen has emphasised the need for halting and reversing the arms race, strengthening peace and security in accordance with the United Nations Charter and to utilise a "substantial part of the resources released by disarmament measures to promote the attainment of the objective of the Third UN Development Decade, and in particular the economic and social development of developing countries so as to accelerate the progress towards the New International Economic Order."

Rakesh Bharadwaj and Rajiv Vohra in their essay "Disarmament: A Panacea or the Industrial Society's Variant of Peace ?" rightly stress that "war is a dreadful thing. But what is still more dreadful are those forces, institutions, values and life styles which make war inevitable." Proceeding from this, they pose the rhetorical question, "Does the race for armaments create the possibilities of violence (i.e. war) or does violence at the macro level and at the institutions level promote and then catalyse the arms (i.e.,-war) industry ?"

The sad fact is that in American society, as of now, violence and crime seem have assumed alarming proportions. Most of the crimes are

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neither reported nor punished. At least one reason for American readiness to initiate wars of aggression may be the prevailing societal environment of violence in their country. Veteran diplomat M.A. Vellodi has reminded readers that the First Special Session of the United Nations (1972), had declared unambiguously that nuclear disarmament should receive the highest priority since "nuclear weapons pose the greatest danger to mankind and to the survival of civilization" and had outlined the steps to be taken towards attaining the goal. He also suggested an action programme for adoption by the United Nations at its second (1982) session. The session, unhappily for the Third World, ended without achieving much.

Defence expert K. Subrahmanyam in his paper, "Nuclear Weapons and the Developing World" has, quite appropriately, drawn attention to the half truths concerning nuclear proliferation being propagated by dominant nuclear weapon powers and the apparent readiness with which the streams of disinformation emanating from nuclear weapon powers is taken in by the elite in the Third World. "The NPT is a still born one. It is time that it is given its funeral which is long overdue," he observes. The reasons are clear. The treaty is discriminatory, the nuclear powers have not bothered to implement Article VI which calls upon the five nuclear powers to reduce their weapon stock piles. They continue testing of and introducing new weapon systems. The USA in particular has grossly violated NPT by secretly transferring nuclear materials, components and technology to Israel, South Africa and more recently to Pakistan. Furthermore, USA has actually handed over certain nuclear weapons to its non-nuclear NATO allies, a fact which students of international affairs were aware of but which came to the notice of the general public because of Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau's declared decision to decline carrying American nuclear weapons by units of Canadian forces cooperating with US and other NATO forces.

The NPT is being used only to disarm the unarmed, as a former Indian diplomat, the late Trivedi, had argued at several sessions of the UN Committee on Disarmament. There is an economic dimension to this attempt at keeping the Third World weak, which is not less significant than the security factor. Some US analysts consider that, "Although the articulate demands are economic, the general thrust of the Third World Movement is political, aiming at a major modification of the power relations between the former colonial powers which are at present the most advanced industrial societies and the former colonies which are still in the early stages of modernisation and industrialisation." To protect US interests, "additional military capabilities might be required besides the forces directly dedicated to Soviet and other well understood contingencies."

(Quoting Guy Parker in Rand Corporation Study, *Military Implications of a Possible World Order Crisis in the 1980s.*)

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So the Third World had better beware. It should part with its irreplaceable natural resources—oil, uranium, tin, copper, chromium and other minerals—to the dominant industrial power should the latter so desire. The Third World can best serve its people, as Subrahmanyam suggests, if the larger among them develop nuclear competence. This to some extent at least would circumscribe the powers of the present nuclear haves. Subrahmanyam might also well have drawn attention to the other essential requirement, namely closer economic and technological cooperation among developing countries. The South must translate statements calling for greater inter-Third World cooperation into positive action. The sooner the South does it, the sooner will the economic and security outlook of all countries of the South improve.

Appa B. Pant in "Arms Race and Options Before the Less Developed Countries" stresses that big power rivalries, their fear and distrust of each other bring pressures on smaller countries to enter the arms race and into military alliances. The arms race in general is thus the result of fear, anger, desire for revenge, pride and/or ignorance. Hence the need for vision that can see the wisdom of creating conditions for cooperation and mutually profitable relationships between nations. The task is too serious and too important to be left to nation states or politicians alone. People as a whole must learn to think and act.

In "No Euroshimas : The Nuclear Disarmament Campaign in Europe," Andrew Rigby and Howard Clark make several useful points. First, NATO leaders at Brussels on 12 December 1978 agreed to the deployment of a new generation of American missiles in West Europe. Second, this decision to let 464 cruise missiles and 108 Pershing II missiles be positioned in West Europe was taken without any public or parliamentary discussion. This was followed by the election of "a bellicose President" in the United States which alarmed the people of Europe. Third, as a means of articulating public fears of nuclear war and of influencing West European governments, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), was started. Fourth, the common people in Europe do not want "Euroshima" nor in fact any war on their soil. In England the government remains pro—US, while the people do not want nuclear weapons in Britain. The recent revelation that the United States has plans to deploy its troops and weapons in Britain and send British troops to the continent in the event of an emergency will almost certainly result in CND gaining further strength in Britain, as well as in the rest of Europe. France does not allow US weapons on its soil and retains freedom of action. Neutralist sentiment is gaining ground in Ireland as well as in Spain and Portugal. Only Italy does not oppose the deployment of US nuclear weapons. But the peace movement must gather further strength and become universal if

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there is to be a change for the better in the attitudes of nuclear weapon states towards peace and disarmament.

"The Peace Movement in Europe" by Mient Jan Faber explains how the Dutch Inter Church Peace Council (i.e. IKV for *Interkerkeligk Vredesberaad*) has come to be West Europe's most prominent disarmament campaign. IKV has recognised that the future course of the arms race is likely to be very different from what it was in the past. The US nuclear arsenal is for fighting nuclear wars—not for deterring the adversary. This heralds the end of arms control as a means of limiting or controlling the arms race. The gap between super powers' declarations and their action is yawning. The general public are not clear as to what has to be done to safeguard humanity's long term interests. IKV's very valid point is that CND and US policy of domination can be fought better from a non-aligned position than from within the alliance. Further, as long as blocs remain in Europe, East Europeans too cannot be really free. Hence if the people of West and East Europe walk out of their alliances, Europe and the rest of the world may breathe more freely. In fact Brezhnev had offered to wind up the Warsaw Pact provided USA wound up NATO. The people of Europe, are unlikely to have forgotten this.

Johann Galtung in "Why Do Disarmament Negotiations Fail ?", has examined the subject with great clarity. We do not have disarmament but accumulation of arms and power. USA with its projected $ 1.6 trillion expenditure on weapons build-up will be dismantling some old weapons but at the same time will be adding a lot more, newer and more effective weapons to its nuclear, chemical and conventional arsenals. Even a sizeable reduction in defence budget will not cool down the arms race since R and D will continue with a view to produce cheaper and more effective weapons, that is, to get "a bigger bang for your buck. "Disarmament talks collapse because fundamentally the leading nuclear power does not want to lose its position of pre-eminence. The second, afraid that its position may further weaken, tries desparately to build up its own weapon stocks. Disarmament negotiators hence skirt round the issue asking for "balanced, mutual and controlled" cuts in arms which can be verified. As Galtung has pointed out, it is difficult to define "balance" in the context of nuclear arsenals because of the multi-dimensional nature of power and attaining a state of balance presupposes the readiness of both contestants to balance their arsenals. Their aim is to secure not balance but superiority. This sadly is the truth.

Another paper on arms control is Bhabani Sen Gupta's "Toils of Sisyphus : Arms Control Negotiations Between Super Powers ;" in this he broadly reviews the course of the United States-Soviet arms race and arms control talks. President Carter in the early years of his Presidency had seriously considered arms reduction but towards the end of his term initia-

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ted rearmament programmes although he remained committed to "limit arms competition and likelihood of conflict."

With Reagan's election, whatever prospects there may have been for arms control measures, perished. A vigorous programme of arms build-up was initiated and bases for deploying RDF (Rapid Deployment Forces) were acquired or strengthened in the Indian Ocean region. Saudi Arabia and Pakistan were heavily armed in order that they may serve USA's regional interests and most ominously doctrines of initiating and fighting "limited" nuclear war were revived. More recently research and preparations for developing space weapons were initiated, and anti-missile and anti-satellite weapons have been successfully tested. Just as it takes only one country to trigger a war it needs only one to thwart the efforts of all others to bring about a general reduction in armaments.

Homer A Jack's "Gandhian Unilateralism Revisted" draws attention to the validity of Gandhian ideology and principles as much today as in his time. Gandhiji had pointed out that, "Hitlerism will never be defeated by counter-Hitlerism" or bombs and violence by counter bombs or counter violence. Mankind can therefore get out of violence only through non-violence and Gandhiji had proved this in South Africa and India. Based on Gandhiji's philosophy, Homer Jack advocates unilateralism in terms of which, nations should renounce, unilaterally, the manufacture and testing of nuclear weapons ; declare themselves as nuclear free zones ; provide leadership in the United Nations and other international fora in peace making and peace keeping efforts ; join hands with like-minded states and enlarge the area of non-nuclear and anti-nuclear cooperation ; plan for appropriate economic policies and help create an international civilian defence structure.

J.D. Sethi in his plea "For an International Non-Violent, Non-Cooperation Movement" has sought to explode several myths and has drawn attention to the fact that problems of global security and a new economic order cannot be dealt with in isolation. For India, security and development remain inseparable. The great merit of this essay is its exposition of Gandhiji's formula for a non-violent, equitable world order which is comparable to a perfect square whose four equal sides stand for political independence, economic independence, non-violence and truth.

The Super Powers are prisoners of their weapons—as indeed are some other easily identifiable states as well, who have thrived on aggression. The danger now is that given the new dimension of the Super Powers arms race, a nuclear war, sooner or later seems inevitable, whether by error, miscalculation on the part of political or military leaders of one or other party to the arms race, or loss of nerve by politicians or commanders. Now that space is no longer a sanctuary of peace, the probability of nuclear war, has risen significantly. The collective wisdom of mankind has to assert now or it may be too late.

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An immediate requirement is universal education for disarmament. This appropriately is the theme of the last two essays, "Education for Disarmament" by Glenn D. Paige and "Disarmament Education as World Order Inquiry" by Betty Reardon and Samuel Mendlovitz. Glenn Paige suggests that a group of world leaders, about twenty from each country, could be set up to form a global leadership bank for working for banning nuclear and chemical weapons, bringing about disarmament and preserving peace. This theme is further developed by Betty Reardon and Sammuel Mendlovitz who observe that "the central task (of world leadership) is to change the international security system from a war-making system to a peace-keeping system and to transfer the resources used to maintain the war-making system to the process of fulfilling the world order values of economic equity and social justice." The question is what do we do to bring about this happy state of affairs ? The authors suggest that the oppressed must be taught (as Gandhiji did in his time), about ways and means to achieve their own liberation. This applies to the poor Third World as well as to the oppressed groups in the First World.

This is true enough ; but fundamental issues have to be stated, action procedures evolved and implemented. The authors have posed some of these. "Who will disarm ? When ? How ? For what purpose ? Under what verification procedures ? What substitute processes for the pursuit of conflicting values are projected for development simultaneously with the process of reducing weaponry and the military ? Will the renunciation of organised warfare and armed force call upon us to make some fundamental changes in our value priorities ? If so, what are the changes and what changes will be required from other actors in the global system ?"

These are priority issues for consideration by statesmen of the world. For the exploited Third World the obvious essential steps are to establish unity in their ranks, strive for closer economic and technological cooperation with each other and enlarge the area of non-alignment. West Europe in its own long-term economic as well as security interests and survival ought to move to a position of equidistance as between the Super Powers to enable East Europe to do likewise. India and other near nuclear non-aligned countries too ought to acquire nuclear competence so as to limit to some extent at least the dominance of the Super Powers. The resulting enlarged and more cohesive non-aligned group, hopefully, would provide a better environment for creating global machinery for securing nuclear disarmament and controlling inter-state violence.

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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

J. C. JOHARI : International Relations and Politics—Diplomatic History Between Two World Wars. Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1984, x, 375 p., Rs. 150.

THIS is a text book on diplomatic history between the two world wars. The author has made the book quite useful and has based his conclusions on various topics after detailed study of standard works. In the beginning, the author has devoted two chapters to the First World War and the Paris Peace Settlement. There are separate chapters on reparations, disarmament and the League of Nations. The book covers the foreign policies of Germany, France, Italy, Great Britain, Soviet Russia and the United States. There are separate chapters devoted to these countries and each chapter is followed by a brief survey in the form of concluding observations. The author has taken care to incorporate the findings of latest writings on the subject. He has made the book quite useful for a student of diplomatic history.

Johari has, however, ignored the development of China and Japan. The emergence of the Arab World, Asia, and the African countries is a phenomenon of the inter-war period. It is time that international relations are not confined only to Europe or the Western Powers and are not made Euro-centric. It is hoped that the author would consider these changes in the next edition of the book. Any book on international relations should lay emphasis on these countries also. The printing and get up of the book is good. It would serve as a good text book for students of diplomatic history.

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ALAN S. ALEXANDROFF : The Logic of Diplomacy. Sage Publications Inc., Beverley Hills, Califorma, 1981, 199 p., $ 24.

FOREIGN policy is what you do in international relations, and diplomacy, is how you do it. With over one hundred and fifty nation states interacting with one another on the world stage to gain political, economic, strategic and now scientific and technological advantages, diplomacy has ceased to be an intuitive activity and an "art". Its practitioners are experts and professionals and call themselves diplomatists as distinguished from a diplomat—a go-getter and a more successful man of

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all seasons. The book formulates a number of broad postulates called hypotheses. These are but time-tested behavioural tendencies derived from psychological and rational attitudes and a study of human interactions but are of particular application and significance in the harsher climate of political and strategic relations between states "entities" or "actors" deriving their strength from power, status and alliances.

These hypotheses consist of the nature of responses of one state to stimulus in the form of "conflictual" or cooperative actions by another state. The responses are classified as either symmetrical or asymmetrical. If conflictual action-stimulus provokes conflictual-action response, the situation is classified as symmetrical. If it produces cooperative action-response or no response, the situation is classified as asymmetrical. These hypotheses constitute the "logic" of diplomacy.

How are these hypotheses tested ? Are there reliable data in sufficient numbers and over a time span which could be subjected to scientific analysis either to support, or refute the hypotheses ? Power centres which are the main actors and whose actions constitute the data-base have existed for a very very long time. But diplomatic history is part of national history and coloured by pride, prejudice and patriotic sentiments, and "objective" data are not easy to tabulate and classify. The author recognises this when he says that diplomacy is so much more difficult to quantify. (p. 15)

However, the author has selected the period 1870-1890 of European history to test the hypotheses. The actors whose decisions are analysed are Germany/Prussia, France, Britain, Italy, Austria-Hungary and Russia. The period is rich in diplomatic events ; wars, peace treaties, alliances, threats and counter-threats, economic and industrial progress. The records of these events are well documented in many contemporary studies and subjected to analytical studies employing new tools of statistical and systems theory by modern scholars of international relations. The methodology developed in the Situational Analysis Project on constructions of models of actor reactions from events has been broadly followed in testing the validity of the hypotheses. As actors exercised near absolute oligarchical or monarchical powers, their actions which constituted the data base to test hypotheses have sharpness and focus.

The hypotheses are Euclidean in simplicity and clarity. Pattern of symmetry is described by the hypothesis ! "If A acts conflictually towards B, then B acts conflictually towards A. If A acts cooperatively towards B, then B acts cooperatively towards A ! Behavioural deterrence hypothesis states that the more extreme the conflictual stimuli the less probable a symmetric response. The no-response hypothesis is : the ratio of no response to total actions is higher for cooperative actions than for conflictual actions. The alliance hypothesis is interesting : the less allied A and B are with each other, higher the percentage of symmetric interactions ; the

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more allied A and B are with each other, the lower the percentage of symmetric interactions.

Analysis of the data base, i.e., events of period 1870-1890 to test the hypothesis and the search for patterns in diplomacy are revealing of the vast array of new tools of research now being used in social sciences. Is the study of diplomacy and politics going the way of economics ? The principal concern of the author is to test the validity of symmetry hypothesis in conflictual events and of behavioural deterrence hypothesis. This reflects problems of diplomatic interactions in super power conflicts. Conflictual situations displayed asymmetry. "More extreme actions did not return cooperation more frequently than less threatening actions the behavioural deterrence findings suggest that strategic deterrence may stand on a less firm foundation than has been assumed up to now." On a more general plane the findings show that patterns of diplomatic interactions reveal a less formal structural system and more of a mixed relationship as survival kits.

It would have been useful if the nature of a "less formal structural system" and "mixed relationship" had been more precisely defined It is, perhaps, not an easy task. The diplomatic events exhibit a tendency for states not to follow policies of undiluted deterrence, extremes of threats and counter threats and complete reliance on alliance. A flexible mix of deterrence and compromise, threats and cooperation, alliance and freedom of action to achieve diplomatic objectives—whatever they may be, defensive or aggressive—is the lesson of history.

The conclusions are nothing new. Statesmen and thinkers down the ages have stressed a flexible approach and the middle way as the mark of true diplomacy. The mathematical techniques of high virtuosity confirm this view and provide intellectual solace. Many of the general statements on diplomatic behaviour of nations are platitudinous and sound commonplace in India but for North American readers they are controversial. Chapter 2, on different behavioural approaches in international relations theory, should be of particular interests to research scholars. Chapter 4 and the Appendices are somewhat heavy reading for readers who are not conversant with the application of latest mathematical techniques in social sciences. There are a few typographical mistakes in an otherwise well edited and printed book. The one which attracted my notice especially is "dimplomatic." (p. 146) There is no Freudian slip here I am sure.

Can the Situational Analysis methodology of compiling actor-interactions which provide the data base to test the logic of diplomacy hypotheses be applied more widely over different historical periods and geographical regions ? Can the hypotheses be tested even if there is the necessary data base for actor-interactions of 151 nation states members of the United Nations system acting bilaterally with others and multilaterally in and through international, regional and sub-regional groupings ? The task

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will be colossal even if powerful computers are to be used. The results of the tests would reveal only vague tendencies, if any, at all. Thus the historical and social studies approach to search for guiding forces in diplomatic behaviour will continue to play an important role.

New Delhi. K.L. DALAL

R. K. JAIN (*Ed*) : China and Thailand 1949-1983. Radiant Publishers, New Delhi, 1984 LXXVI 415 p., Rs. 150.

THIS volume is the first in the series of "China and Southeast Asia since 1949" intended to cover the Chinese policy towards particular countries of Southeast Asia. There is no doubt that because of its geographical proximity. historical links, trade potential, the presence of a sizeable Chinese community and the existence of communist-inspired insurgencies, China regards the region as vital to its foreign policy calculations. Of late, China's perception of Vietnam's domination over Laos and Kampuchea has impelled it to cultivate closer friendship of ASEAN countries, more especially of Thailand, which faces a direct threat from Vietnam's hold over Kampuchea.

The present volume is a compilation of documents, 425 in number, pertaining to China-Thailand relations since the emergence of the People's Republic of China in 1949. However, the first four documents in the volume pertain to the period before 1949. The documents are preceded by an introductory essay which is intended to place them in proper perspective for an understanding of China-Thailand relations. Besides describing the stresses and strains in Sino-Thai relations in the 1950s and 1960s, the essay gives an idea of the circumstances which ultimately paved the way for the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries on 1 July 1975. Since then, except for a brief period from October 1976 to November 1977 (when a new government was in office in Thailand after the October 1976 *coup*) the tempo in close diplomatic, cultural and economic relations between China and Thailand has been maintained till today. Relations between the two countries became more cordial in the wake of the Vietnamese intervention in Kampuchea in January 1979 as both countries shared identical perceptions in aiding Kampuchean resistence against Vietnam. Not only in the setting up of the so-called Coalition Government of Democrative Kampuchea and helping it to fight against the Vietnamese forces in Kampuchea, China has promised to help Thailand if Vietnam invades. After going through the essay, the reader easily grasps the contents of the documents in the volume. However the main shortcoming of

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the essay is that the author has ignored the domestic factor in China in the development of China's relations with Thailand, although attention has been paid to this factor in the case of Thailand. One would perhaps agree with the author's assessment of prospects for the future : "Sino-Thai relations in future would depend upon the new balance of power that would emerge in the region following a solution of the Kampuchean problem and the future development of relations among the Great Powers." (p. LXXVI).

The inclusion of some unimportant documents in the present volume, e.g. the messages of greeting from the Communist Party of China to the Communist Party of Thailand and vice-versa and broadcasts of the Voice of the People of Thailand (VPT) etc., merely add to its size. This, however, is a minor shortcoming and the author has included all other relevant documents for understanding the development of China-Thailand relations from 1949 to 1983. The four appendices pertaining to the Exchange of Visits (1972-1983); China-Thailand Agreements (1974-1983); China-Thailand Trade (1948-1982) and Thailand-Taiwan Trade (1955-1980) are certainly useful. The select bibliography however, is too short. Many useful and relevant books have been left out. There are several printing mistakes, although the cover and binding are well done.

Notwithstanding the above limitations, the book may be of use to scholars and students of Chinese foreign policy and Southeast Asian studies. The book may also find a place in the libraries as there is paucity of materials on such subjects.

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UMA SHANKAR SINGH

DATA COLLECTION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

D. J. CASELEY and D. A. LURY : Data Collection in Developing Countries. Oxford University Press, New Delhi 1982, XI, 244 p., Rs. 44.

THE book under review was written in 1979, first published in 1981 and later in paperback in 1982. There should be a special reason to bring out one more book on techniques and methods of data collection to add to the already large number of books published on this topic, apart from the growing number of individual and institutions engaged in survey research. The authors, with a wide range of practical experience and grounding in statistical theory have to a considerable extent justified the bringing out of this book, making it a manual of practice for those who are involved in the organization of quantitative data gathering and analysis in develop-

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ing countries. One of the major aims of the book, as envisaged by the authors, is to enable investigators to combine theory and practice in a simple and practical way. Their practical experience, though varied, is mainly drawn from African countries, and the authors are well aware that the heterogeniety exhibited by the developing countries demand utmost care not to generalize for all developing countries, even from an important segment namely Africa. Moreover, data gathering and analysis in the Third World by FAO, World Bank and other international organizations, the subjective perspectives of the academics involved notwithstanding, cannot but be coloured by the world perspective, especially by that of the advanced capitalist countries.

The strength of the book lies in the conscious effort to situate the techniques of data gathering in actual field experience so that consequently the scientific sophistication does not unwittingly slip into technical phrase-mongering and professional jargon-rattling. The style is simple and a technical subject cannot be entirely translated into commonsense expressions, except by sacrificing brevity and exactitude. The authors have, on the whole, been successful in maintaining a balance between the demands of technical precision and lucidity of communication. The book is not a duplication of already available theoretical texts in statistics, quantitative research techniques and field work guides. Its emphasis on commonsense, practical learning from detailed analysis of concrete field experience, and that too from an important part of the Third World, goes a long way to make it usable by individuals engaged in micro-studies or leaders of governmental and non-governmental large-scale sample and census surveys.

Apart from a brief Introduction, the book is schemetically divided into thirteen other chapters, covering the whole range of Censuses, Sample Surveys, Case Studies, Survey Design, Questionnaire, Collection of Data, Preparation, Processing and Presentation. The last three chapters deal with Household Survey, Data on Agricultural Holdings and Monitoring and Evaluation. They indicate the area of that which was personally real to the authors. The commonality of a certain type of data, increasingly in demand by various governmental and non-governmental agencies, especially those engaged in planning and managing the direction of social change in the Third World countries in the midst of rapid transition, is emphasised in these chapters. Though the book does not neglect the anthropological techniques and micro case studies the bias is in favour of issues connected with macro studies on economics and demography is writ large. The audience of the book ranges from statisticians and research workers who have not been fully "exposed" to the whole range of problems from the initiation to the conclusion of the survey, officers concerned with development aid. planners/consultants and research workers in developing countries with limited statistical background. The reviewer is of the opinion that it is mainly the last mentioned group that can profitably use the book.

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Clamping together the need to meet the requirements of the aid officials, local and outsiders and planners/consultants with those of the fresh researchers has somewhat diminished the value of the book, but one cannot brush aside the biases acquired in a life-time experience at will.

Planning and carrying out a study, be it a small scale individual effort or a massive national census, requires not only an ideal design which is relatively easy to draw but a continous sequential adjustment to many unanticipated developments. The authors cite (p. 33) the case of the 1971 Indonesian Census. The initial plan included training for three months for the enumerators to ensure quality and consistency of training. But elections in July, made the government issue regulations preventing meetings and consequently the training had to be compressed into one month and the number of enumerators increased three fold, increasing the variability of instructions and marring the quality of enumerators. Such contingent decisions are bound to be forced in the course of carrying out a study. Only commonsense and learning from concrete experience can save a study from being abandoned altogether. The contingencies may be natural or socially caused but the surveyor has no control over them and can make intelligent adjustments or throw up his hands in despair. The authors seem to be inclined towards the former. In case of developing countries in rapid transition, or caught between powerful contending historical forces usually expressed in distorted forms, present these contingencies in "natural" political failures more often than in the developed countries.

All research activity, including survey research, is essentially a social activity. It needs a sociological awareness to properly coordinate the actions of various structures contributing to this activity. The authors show some awareness of the problem when they discuss the question of team work. The same situation can be viewed differently by the directors, the planners of a survey and the field enumerators and it is not wise for the surveyors "to expect their enumerators to be more careful than they are themselves." (p 74)

The chapter on Questionnaires is very well written with practical tips drawn from positive and negative lessons from a number of concrete studies. Any researcher intending to use a standardized form for gathering of data for his/her study can learn a lot by reading this chapter. One example is cited : questionnaires are drafted in one language and the respondents are talked to in their language. Now a standardized translation is a must. The simple device suggested in the book is to ask for a translation from one person and to submit the translation to another person to retranslate into the original language. The exercise should be continued till the retranslation agrees with the original, from which the translation into the respondents' language is to be made. Most researchers err because they fail to see the significance of such "simple" but necessary precautions.

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The authors are not concerned with more fundamental questions like the very situation of researchers language and the respondents language being two languages, the problem of incommensuxability as raised by phenomenologists. They do not show sufficient awareness of the implications of Western (mainly English) language being the every-day language of social science as opposed to the Third World languages.

Within the accepted parameters of survey research and statistical technique applied by the developed for the study of the developing, the book is a positive contribution, Occasionally the authors show openings for the methodologist to transcend the limitations imposed by data gathering for developmental aid programmes.

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New Delhi.

INDIA

T. K. OOMEN : Social Structure and Politics : Studies in Independent India. Hindustan Publishing Corporation, Delhi, 1984, xii, 236 p.

THE book is a collection of twelve papers contributed by the learned author to various journals and books published between 1966 and 1982. The papers relate to a number of aspects of the political sociology of India, from social pluralism and political integration to student power and politics. The studies analyse the relationship between social structure and political processes in India. A notable feature of these studies is that they are at once theoretical and empirical. Written at different times and dealing with a variety of topics, the papers are, not of a uniformly high standard. Also, the topics dealt with are not all of the same interest today as when they were first published; on some of the topics, a considerable amount of work has been done since the author's contribution.

The papers have been grouped into four parts. Those included in Part I relate to Social Structure and Political Process; Part II includes papers which deal with Community Power Structure; papers dealing with the Politics of Agrarian Conflict are grouped as Part III; and Part IV includes papers which deal with Student Power and Politics. The papers have studied the various themes in a competent manner and they reveal the author's deep analysis of and insight into the nature of the various issues examined by him. Many of the findings and observations of the author are significant and valuable. To his credit, the author has critically examined some of the existing theories in political sociology and has advanced new theoretical propositions on the basis of new facts brought out by his studies.

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In the first paper, the author has pointed out that social pluralism *per se* is not inimical to political integration in so far as primordial collectivisms get gradually transformed into "civil collectivism" with the emergence of voluntary associations of primordial groups as mechanisms of popular participation that ensure and facilitate wider political involvement. The role of voluntary associations in multi-party political systems has been ably handled by the author in the second paper. The nature and types of voluntary associations in a society, it is argued, are determined by the "need structure" of the society in which they originate and operate They articulate structural differentiation, operate as agents of social change by linking the traditional and the modern elements in society, and in their role as intermediate structures, minimise the costs of rapid social change. While dealing with charisma in another paper, the author argues that, contrary to the conventional and widely accepted theory that charisma is a change-initiating force, charisma can well be a system-conserving force. He suggests that charisma is ultimately a product of social structure and hence its nature and content will undergo transformation as the society itself changes. In the first paper of Part II, the author has given a critique of the concept of the dominant caste. According to him, "the notion of dominant caste is untenable unless the unity of the caste as a group is assumed" which, he points out, would not be in keeping with reality. More often than not, the author contends, castes with the requisite resources to be dominant are divided into hostile factions thereby reducing their potentiality to emerge as dominant castes.

With some of the views the author has expressed in the different papers included in the book, one may find it difficult to agree. In his paper on Transitional Anomie in Indian Politics : An Analysis of the Fourth General Election, the author asserts "in the light of available evidence", that "the argument that elections offer an oppotunity for reinforcing caste hierarchy and solidarity cannot be taken seriously." He seems to have drawn this inference chiefly from the fact that often opposing political groups or parties set up candidates belonging to the same caste, "two Jats from Jodhpur or two Reddis from Rayalaseema or two Syrian Christians from Travancore." Contrary to what the author asserts, this phenomenon only lends support to the view that caste loyalties play a very significant role in the behaviour of the voters and that therefore, no political party or group dares ignore this factor in its election strategy. In his paper on Political Leadership in Rural India, the author comes to certain findings on the basis of a case study of about four hundred heads of households in seven small villages selected on a random basis from four districts of Rajasthan. It is difficult to appreciate how he draws certain implications of his findings. Speaking about the leaders, he observes : "both the traditional and the ethical are essentially irrational." From the fact that the leadership that is involved mainly with moral qualities calls for great res-

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pect, the author infers that such leadership, by inhibiting the questioning spirit will have followers with blind faith and therefore, in the thinking of the author, such leadership is "as inimical to the modern, secular/political process as traditional leadership is." This appears to be a rather devious way of thinking and the author's inference seems to be forced and not convincing. While it is widely held that leadership with moral values will be better, the author appears to be almost opposing and condemning such leadership. Not many thinking persons will readily accept his views.

While some of the papers make interesting reading, they do not make a significant contribution to their themes. The two papers on Student Power and Politics, grouped in Part IV, contain much that has been, more or less, common knowledge; several of the author's observations, therefore, appear trite, although cloaked in academic terminology, something that is the bane of a lot of contemporary social science research of an empirical kind and employing survey research methods.

There is no doubt the book is a valuable contribution to the scant literature that we have in Political Sociology written with an Indian orientation. It will amply repay a perusal by the general reader as well as by students of Political Sociology. The printing is of a high standard and the get-up is good. The book will be a valuable acquisition for any library.

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K.C. ALEXANDER : Peasant Organizations in South India. Indian Social Institute, New Delhi, 1981, 232 p., Rs. 80.

THE mobilization of peasants is widely recognised as socially and politically necessary to bring about a transformation in the conditions of the rural poor. However, the processes and problems involved in the transformation have yet to be clarified. The author has tried to do precisely this, by examining in an analytical framework based on current theories, the structure and activities of peasant organisation in South India.

In South India, peasant organisations are heterogeneous due to the diversity of geographic, economic, social and political factors. This book gives a comparative perspective of how geographic characteristics and crop specialization in Kerala, Tamilnadu and Karnataka has led to the development of distinct patterns of social structure with differing potential for the development of peasant organisations. Poverty is not a unifying factor and the division of the peasantry into agricultural labourers, tenant cultivator-farmers is further marked by cleavages along political and caste lines. In studying the dynamics of peasant organisations, this

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book analyses the significance of their activities for social transformation through people's participation.

To study this, the data was obtained from three sources, i e., published materials, accounts given by persons associated with the activities of peasant organisations, and information collected through interviews. The information from publications and persons associated with the activities of peasant organisations was used primarily for the descriptive accounts of peasant organisations. The published quantitative data was used for understanding regional variations in geographic and social structural characteristics. Interviews of the respondents were used primarily for understanding the normative orientation of peasantry and patterns of agrarian relations. It has also been used for understanding how the social characteristics of the peasantry affect their membership in peasant organisations.

The second chapter gives the socio-economic and political characteristics of the states of Kerala, Tamilnadu and the districts of Mandya. A significant aspect is that the labourers in the rice cultivation areas were Harijans giving an ethnic homogeneity, but in areas where millets are cultivated, not only was the size of the proletariat small, but they also lacked ethnic homogeneity. Thus, a concentration of rural proletariat may emerge independent of rice cultivation and rice cultivation may not always lead to the concentration of the proletariat. The condition of the poor, particularly the agricultural labourers, was very miserable. Close association between occupational and political decisions of the peasantry in T. Pundi and Alleppey have broken down the caste barriers to a certain extent. Thus caste and occupation worked as a barriers limiting the influence of the Communist Party among the rural poor.

In the chapter on "Normative Orientation," the author tries to examine four aspects of the normative orientation of peasants in areas where they are organised and areas where they are not organised, namely value orientation, ideological orientation, relational and distributive norms. The examination of the value orientation of the respondents indicates that there has been little change from the traditional criteria—judging peasants on the basis of caste and sex. Ideological orientation touches upon issues like inter-caste relations, fatalism, right to property, belief in the need of revolution and authoritarianism.

Traditional ideas relating to these issues are strongly prevalent in Mandya and Orthnad, while considerable change has occurred in T. Pundi. The relational norms touch upon different aspects of farmer-labourer relations, such as the patron-client relations, working conditions and inter-caste relations. In this respect also, respondents from Mandya and Orthnad mostly believe in the traditional-relational norms. Again, while some amount of change has taken place in T. Pundi, the traditional relational norms have been completely rejected in Alleppey.

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In analyzing the variables significantly related to the different aspects of the normative orientation, it became apparent that change in the normative orientation has not occurred through sources such as education and exposure to mass media, but that the most important cause of transformation was the activities of political parties and class organisations. This indicates the main cause of the change in the normative orientation of the peasantry and the imbuing of a revolutionary consciousness resulting from activities of the Communist Party.

The chapters on Agricultural Labour Unions and Farmer Associations discuss those in Tamil Nadu and Kerala. The activities of agricultural labourers have led to higher wages, regulated working conditions, the enactment of legislation and related benefits for them. It has also led to widespread participation of labourers in political activities and has turned an inarticulate and oppressed section into an organised revolutionary class.

Organisation of agricultural labourers by different political parties has helped the movement to some extent, but the predominent position of the CPM-sponsored union has given it a revolutionary character, putting the farmer on the defensive. The small farmers formed a major section of the peasantry; the anti-farmer activities pursued by the Communist Party through the labour unions made them bitter opponents of the Party. This has considerably narrowed the base of the Communist Party in Kerala and has led to the erosion of its influence, particularly in areas like Palghat where earlier it was the most popular political party. The farmer organisation that emerged mainly as a reaction to Communist activities has defeated the strategy of the Communist Party to form an alliance between the rural proletariat and small farmers and has limited the scope for growth of Communist activities among the peasantry.

Data gathered in Chapter VIII reveals the impact the activities of peasants' organisations have had on tenurial relations, customary (jajmani) relations between farmers and servicing castes, the solidarity of village communities and political consequences. Peasant organisations and their activities led to a political polarisation. In Kerala, the aggressive activities of the CPM labour union pushed the petty farmers to the side of large farmers and restricted the base of the party to agricultural labourers. In Tamil Nadu also the organisation of labour by the CPI and its struggles pushed the small farmers to the non-Communist camp. Thus both in Kerala and Tamil Nadu the party has reached a critical point, and whether its activities on the agrarian front will lead to self-defeat or to the expansion of its base in rural areas will depend on how it solves this dilemma.

Lastly, I would like to make some critical observations regarding the study. They are as follows :

a) The size of the sample was 250 per Mandya and Alleppey districts and 200 per T. Pundi and Orthnad taluks. The total number of respon-

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dents was 900. But the author has analysed the interviews of 898 ; he does not mention anywhere what happened to the other two respondents. (see page 25)

b) In Table III-6 (page 79) two stars show the significance at 1 per cent level and one star at 5 per cent level. The table has been analysed on that basis. It doesn't indicate 5 per cent level at all, it indicates only the 1 per cent level ; this confuses the reader.

c) Table III-7 (page 81) continues upto page 82, Alleppey shows N=250 but same table in page 82, shows Alleppey N=200. In research this certainly is a major blunder.

d) In Table IV-1 (page 114) and Table VI-2 (page 162) the heading should be the same but there is a difference; in one place it is written sympathizer and in the other table it is not indicated.

e) There are too many tables in text and also very long tables. The author could have avoided this or the tables could have been put in the Appendix.

f) The author could have gone more in depth to find out the political mobilization of the peasants of the four districts and have drawn a comparative picture of it. What I mean is that he could have analyzed how the CPI, CPM and other parties have mobilized the peasants for their own motive ?

Leaving aside the above critical comments the author has done a great job in the field of social science. This book would certainly be a valuable source of information for not only the social scientist but also the administrator, political and social workers and all those concerned with social transformation of the rural poor through peasants, movements.

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AMIT KUMAR GUPTA

AMAL RAY and VANITA VENKATASUBBIAH : Studies in Rural Development and Administration. The World Press Pvt. Ltd., Calcutta, 1984, 172 p., Rs. 65.

STUDIES in Rural Development and Administration deals with the organisational-cum-administrative ramifications of the problem of rural development. The publication comprises four different research studies structured around a common theme—rural developmental strategy in the context of the local administrative system. In Chapters I, II and VI of this book, Professor Amal Ray has very ably dealt with the pattern of linkages between rural developmental strategies and organisation methods, small-farmer development and the inter-relationship between developmental politics and organisational behaviour in the rural sector.

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In Chapter III, Vanita Venkatasubbiah elucidates the administrative pros and cons of the operation of nutrition programmes as part of rural development.

Admittedly, organisational structures coupled with developmental strategies are important elements in tackling the problem of rural poverty. In short, rural underdevelopment cannot be meaningfully resolved without a well structured administrative system designed to achieve specific developmental goals. While all these are well taken, it is inconceivable that a meaningful drive against all round rural underdevelopment can be undertaken merely on the basis of a superimposed organisational system. First, the given administrative system should have the capability to implement the various developmental programmes. Secondly, the administrative system should have the ability to involve the rural people in this gigantic developmental task. That means, a spirit of volunteerism and cooperation coupled with a mechanism for monitoring local demands, can go a long way to set up the priorities for a rural developmental programme and its consequent implementation through appropriate steps. In this context, the spread of literacy is a basic pre-requisite for generating wider community awareness among the rural people and thus encourage them to improve the quality of their environment. This is essential to the task of rural development. Unless, the rural poor themselves decide to refashion the system in which they live, it is unlikely that their fate could be changed for the better through superimposed institutions or fancy developmental strategies.

Be that as it may, both Ray and Venkatasubbiah have done well to analyse the various administrative and organisational issues and the different impediments in the way of balanced rural development. It is hoped that their joint prognostication venture may help in generating more pragmatic prescriptions for alleviating the ills of rural India.

Indian Council of World Affairs,
New Delhi

SHIVAJI GANGULY

SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY : Quest for Socialism : Fifty Years of Struggle n India. Radiant Publishers, New Delhi 1984, xv, 373 p., Rs. 150.

THE author narrates the history of Socialism in its various shades. A devout socialist, Dwivedy possesses all the credentials to do this job. Jaya Prakash Narain and Acharya Narendra Dev are considered as the main architects of Socialism in India. Besides opposition within the Congress Party by rightist Congressmen led by Sardar Patel, a group of Congressmen showed a luke-warm support to Socialism. Author rightly observes : "on the whole, one could clearly see the emergence of an

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organised socialist group in the Congress." (p. 45) Socialism however faded out gradually from the Congress camp as independence dawned.

The Socialists came out of the Congress in 1946. Jaya Prakash Narain stressed at that time the need for reorganising the Congress Socialist Party. From prison in 1946 he wrote :

> The official policy of the Congress today is not a policy of struggle or preparation of struggle ; it is rather a policy of compromise and constitutionalism. Therefore, it is not possible for those of us today who still adhere to the policy of struggle and revolutionary action to function in the name of the Congress.

After independence, the main torch bearers of Socialism in India were the Socialist Party of India and the Praja Socialist Party. For the Congress Party, Socialism became a slogan to win elections. The adoption of the socialistic pattern of society, birth of the public sector, and later on the abolition of privy purses of erstwhile rulers and nationalisation of banks were claimed by the Congress as their path to the attainment of socialistic goals. The adoption of these measures by the Congress, the author rightly observes, "created a new stir in the country...All the progressive political forces in the opposition supported these steps." Under the circumstances no political party, having socialistic aspirations, had any chance to survive. Thus an era of the decline of socialist parties started. The Executive of the Praja Socialist Party (PSP) also accepted this conclusion. It observed that "an era of unprecedented stresses and strains had begun. The PSP also resolved to extend its hands of cooperation to the present government (Congress) in so far as it leads to the fulfilment of the democratic socialist objectives."

Dwivedy was Member of Parliament from 1952 to 1970. He throws sufficient light on the political goings on during the China-India War and discusses numerous episodes like Krishna Menon's resignation, the Malaviya Affair and succession to Nehru and Lal Bahadur Shastri. Excerpts of some speeches made by Dwivedy on important issues in the Lok Sabha will serve the researcher as a ready reckoner on PSP thinking on various important issues.

The formation of the Praja Socialist Party, the various set backs it had and its inner squabbles have been ably presented by the author. On the PSP and the Socialist Movement in India availability of printed material is scanty. This book will be a welcome addition. Dwivedy is quite clear in his assessment of Ashok Mehta who advocated soon after the Kamaraj Plan "that instead of opposing the Congress, the PSP should extend full cooperation for implementing socialist policies . . . ." The suggestion for cooperation with the Congress was unanimously rejected by the PSP. Ashok Mehta's membership of the PSP was terminated. At this juncture

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there was a two-fold crisis in the party. Many socialists joined the Congress with Ashok Mehta and talk of unity of socialist forces failed. According to Dwivedy, R.M. Lohia, Chairman of the Socialist Party, was not in favour of unity of the socialist forces so talks of unity failed. Again after some spade work the unity of the Socialist Party and PSP was achieved and the Samyukta Socialist Party was formed; this unity however did not last long. The PSP was forced out of the alliance. It was realised that "Dr. Lohia was more interested in capturing political power than carrying forward the socialist programme . . . ." Dwivedy for a short time joined the Congress Party in 1974. He could not remain in it in the wake of the emergency and criticism of JP by the ruling party. The author has posed a very vital question regarding the future of Socialism in the country and rightly puts it in the following words :

> The Socialist Movement we had launched no longer exists. Democratic socialism might have ultimately become the objective of our country, but there is no Socialist Party to work for it. We have failed in establishing one. The semblance of a socialist party that was existing, bid good-bye to Socialism for all times to come by merging itself with the Janata Party.

In a nutshell, this book is a choronological record of the Socialist Movement in India since its inception. It also provides an insight into the various important developments and discussions on them in Parliament. The author has attempted to present his views on various important developments in Parliament objectively but a slant to his parent body the PSP is obvious.

Indian Council of World Affairs,
New Delhi. V.K. ARORA

ISHWAR DAYAL, J.A. BELLO, *et. al.* : Managing Large Organisations : A Comparative Study in a Developing Country. All India Management Association, New Delhi, 1981, x, 211 p., Rs. 60.

THIS study has been conducted by Ishwar Dayal, four Nigerian and two other Indian management researchers then teaching at the University of Lagos. Five organizations have been chosen for study. Three of the five have indigenous management, one is managed by an Asian Expatriate Group and the other by a European Expatriate Group. The book is divided into three sections—the first one presents a profile of the Nigerian employee, the second one has the case studies of the five organizations and the third and last section carries implications of total management for (a) personnel policy and development, b) directions for managing

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large organizations, c) administration of innovative organizations like a University and finally a discussion of the role of multinational organizations.

Broadly, the purpose of the study was to understand what prevents organizations in developing countries from being production-oriented. More specifically the study has three primary concerns, one, the need to understand the background of the employees in organizations, their motivations towards seeking employment and their attitudes and values. Second, to discover whether size has any bearing on management practices and whether different kinds of technology generate different styles. Third, to know whether culture and tradition have an impact strong enough to influence management practice in organizations.

The authors have found the existing frameworks for comparing organizations inadequate for they felt that they had to compare not only the way the management functions are organized but also how the management roles are performed. For this purpose a three-fold scheme was devised. The first category consisted of five managerial functions viz., planning, organizing, controlling, coordinating, supervising and motivating. The second category consisted offive management processes viz., policy formulation and decision making, goal orientation, problem solving, self-renewal and response to environment. The third category was of organizational environment which assessed feelings about the management, feelings about the future of the organization and feelings of the employees about their own future in the organization.

The profile of a Nigerian employee that emerges from the study is that of a young man with limited education. He comes from a polygamous family and shoulders heavy family responsibilities. As a first generation industrial worker, he still serves the traditional values and yet believes in adopting the modern values. Behaviourally the data shows that the employee expects close and decisive supervision and positive encouragement to learn more and improve his prospects. What is interesting to note is that managers and workers come from similar social background and are motivated by similar values of advancement and security.

Dayal and associates have now used this data with the data on management functions and practices to look at questions of organizational change. They find that employees are willing to accept change in the work environment and are ready to learn new skills. The trade unions have supported management initiatives in improving technology or introducing new machines. The authors attribute this willingness to change to the social and behavioural characteristics of both the managers and employees. However, they emphasise that this willingness is dependent on the management's ability to understand and compensate for familial and social demands on the employees. The authors place considerable emphasis on

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the culture and traditions of the employees in designing personnel policies and organization of work.

Another interesting finding of this study is that the differences in management practices between the expatriate and Nigerian organizations are not specific because the strengths and weaknesses in each case do not relate to the circumstances of ownership. This is rather surprising because one would expect the expatriate companies would import many of their "modern" management practices. However, what the authors have found is that the smaller organizations in contrast to the larger expatriate organizations had developed more effective planning control, goal setting and problem-solving procedures.

One of the main successful features of this study is its ability to take a wholistic view of organizations. The individual behavioural chracteristics of the employees and the case studies of managerial functions and practices have been very well integrated to arrive at policy consequences for personnel policies and organizational change. In addition it is written in lucid and simple style and hence is very readable.

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R.N. CHOPRA : Public Sector in India : Its Performance, Profitability and Industrial Relations. Intellectual Book Corner, New Delhi, 1983, xvi, 218 p., Rs. 100.

THIS is an important addition to the growing volume of literature on various aspects of the public sector in this country. Its importance lies in the fact that the author headed the Food Corporation of India (FCI), one of the largest public sector undertakings for four long years of which two initial ones were very stormy. Thus, the author has first hand acquaintance with the problems, a number of them common to most of the public sector undertakings. Secondly, the attitude and the outlook of the author were and still are sympathetic to the ideals and objectives of the public sector. He seems to be different from the general run of bureaucrats who go to manage the public sector undertakings in the same way as they manage a district. They have no commitment to the ideals and the philosophy behind the public sector.

Chopra's perspective is that the public sector in this country has not lived up to the expectations, but it has to succeed in attaining the objectives assigned to it otherwise the country will not be able to build a modern industrial economy and march towards its socio-economic goals. With this in view, he has looked into the genesis of the public sector in India. He has made a brief but useful review of the ideas which ultimately

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led to the scheme adopted in Industrial Policy Resolutions of 1948 and 1956.

Apart from being "the main instrument of socialist development in a mixed economy, assuming the commanding heights therein in due course", the public sector was not to exist for its own sake or go on expanding indiscriminately. Chopra has rightly said that, "Enlargement of the public sector was only a functional aspect of that strategy and not a value in itself." It is necessary that the public sector becomes really effective and efficient. Even though the same yardsticks as applicable to the private sector may not be applied in the case of the public sector, it is imperative that the capital in the latter must be utilised with maximum economy and efficiency. Wastage and inefficiency must be avoided at all cost. The public sector undertakings must generate adequate surplus to meet not only the needs of their own technological updating and expansion, but also to contribute to the public exchequer which has contributed their capital. In other words, public sector undertakings must be made to generate investible surplus to finance economic development of the country. In our country, very few people seem to feel any real concern for the protection and improvement of the public sector. Chopra has rightly quoted Prof. V.K.R.V. Rao who has said : "Destruction of public property and lack of identification of either the public or the workers with nationalised or public sector enterprises seems to worry the enthusiasts for socialism much less than the slow pace of extension of the public sector." The parties on the Left, and trade unions controlled by them, have never cared to inculcate a sense of identification on the part of the workers with the public sector and the philosophy behind it. Nor have they brought home the role of the public sector in taking the country towards self-reliance and preserving its independence in the face of growing pressure from TNCs and their promoters.

Chopra has given ample evidence from his own experience to underline irresponsible conduct of trade unions and their leaders. But, at the same time, he has not spared the government and bureaucracy for not attending to the grievances and problems of workers promptly. Political pressures from above apart, the lack of autonomy in handling industrial relations hampers public sector management and creates further complications and delays in settlement of disputes. At present public sector undertakings are not allowed to make any financial commitments to labour during negotiations without obtaining a prior clearance from the Finance Ministry in addition to the Administrative Ministry and the Bureau of Public Enterprise. To quote Chopra : "What and how far are the managers supposed to negotiate and compromise when the issues are joined squarely and a strike or a go-slow is threatened is never clear...the fact cannot be denied that the top managers feel greatly handicapped in a situation where their

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word is not honoured and the commitments made by them may have to be withdrawn on rejection by the higher authorities."

This situation needs to be urgently rectified so that labour problems are taken care of at the plant or enterprise level itself and tensions are not allowed to develop. Other problems which have defied solutions are multiplicity of trade unions and rivalries among them and the almost complete absence of social pressure to promote a work ethics conducive to better performance.

Chopra is of the view that the same set of labour laws should not apply to both public and private sectors. He thinks, there should be a different set of labour laws for the former. Work stoppages lead to a low level of productivity in the public sector. Thus, "the situation at present demands that some thinking on more radical lines should be done to put the working of the PSUs on a more stable and healthy footing. The national economy is faced with an acute problem of raising resources within and abroad ; if the public sector does not look sharp in performance and profitability the future growth of our economy will be retarded. The vital role of the profitability of the public sector is thus without question." Up to this there cannot be any disagreement with Chopra, but when he says that strikes and lockouts in the public sector should be banned by law, there is bound to be some disagreement. What is needed is to educate the workers and trade unions and in this the help of political parties, and of the leftist parties in particular, must be secured. They should be persuaded to see the point that a public sector undertaking cannot be treated on par with a private sector company. They should be made to realise the importance and role of the public sector in the prevailing international and national situation. The defence and development of the public sector must become the responsibility of the working class which must demonstrate its superiority over the private sector in every respect. Workers must be involved in the management and day-to-day working of undertakings so that they develop a sense of involvement and better appreciate the problems and difficulties and, at the same time, the management should be sympathetic and responsive to workers' problems and grievances and should try to win them over.

Chopra's book, in spite of numerous printing errors, is worth reading and discussing.

Nehru Memorial Museum and Library,
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GIRISH MISHRA

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UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS AND INDIA

By INDAR JIT RIKHYE*

Since independence, India has played an important role in strengthening the United Nations capability in the maintenance of international peace and security. Faced with the problem of Kashmir where Pakistan supported raiders, in violation of the Six Month Stand Still Agreement to work out future status of the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir, had entered the state, the ruler of the state called for assistance from India. Within hours Indian troops started to move by air and surface transportation and on entering the state faced Pakistani raiders. Some hard fighting ensued. In spite of the critical times, India pledged its support for the United Nations security system by calling on the Security Council to play a role in ending the fighting in Jammu and Kashmir and readily agreed to deploy United Nations military observers to supervise a cease fire which was negotiated by the United Nations between India and Pakistan. The decision by the Prime Minister, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru to stop fighting, instead of allowing the Indian Army to continue with its successful campaign, in favour of UN sponsored ceasefire and negotiations was significant. Nehru wished to avoid direct fighting between Indian and Pakistani forces by stepping in the general area of Uri which was at some distance from the Pakistani frontier. Regardless of the merits or demerits of this decision, the Indian Prime Minister had chosen United Nations direct military action.

INDIA'S first opportunity to send abroad a sizable contingent, including senior military officers, diplomats and troops came with the ending of fighting in the Korean peninsula in 1953. India agreed to provide the Neutral Nations Reparation Commission (UNRC) and sufficient troops to guard prisoners of war of both sides who were to go through an agreed to arrangement for their repatriation. The UNRC was headed by Maj. Gen. K.S. Thimayya; A. Chakravarti was political adviser and Maj. Gen. Thorat was the Commander of the troops. This formidable trio placed India's armed forces on the world map. Although this operation was not called peace-keeping at that time, the role of the NNRC was indeed peacekeeping; the definition of such operations will be described later.

Within the first decade of independence Nehru had defined the role of India's armed forces before Parliament. The military had a threefold

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role, i.e., defend India, provide aid to civil power and to assist the United Nations There were important implications in the last role. It signified that Indian forces would not be sent overseas to fight other's wars, and by declaring their role in support of the United Nations, India had entrenched its position in support of the Non-Aligned Movement.

Since its inception, the United Nations had continued in the tradition of the League of Nations to dispatch observers to monitor agreements relating to armed conflicts. The observers were chosen in accordance to requirements. They could be military observers or diplomats or a combination. These operations were called peace observations. India had no opportunity to provide such personnel in the early years. The Suez Crisis in 1956 provided the first of such an opportunity.

FIRST MISSION IN THE SUEZ

The first Arab-Israeli War that followed with the declaration of the independence of Israel was brought to a halt by a series of ceasefires which culminated in the signing of the General Armistice Agreement in 1949. With the exception of Hashemite Jordan, the Arabs had fared poorly, particularly the Egyptians. Gemal Abdul Nasser, then a battalion commander in the Sinai, determined to change the Arabs, inspired a *coup* against King Farouk and emerged as the leader of the Egyptian Military Government. He strived for development, to rearm and reorganize the Egyptian forces. As a priority he negotiated a collossal project to build a new dam at Aswan on the Nile and obtained a World Bank loan. However, he was thwarted in his efforts to strengthen the Egyptian armed forces because of the American and Western Nations' commitment to Israel. When he turned to the Czechs to purchase arms the United States persuaded the World Bank to withdraw their offer for a loan. Nasser retaliated by nationalizing the Suez Canal, then owned by an Anglo-French consortium.

The decision by the West not to supply arms to Egypt was related to the refusal of Egypt and the Arabs as a whole to recognize the Jewish state. Egypt had permitted raids across the Armistice Demarcation Lines from the Gaza Strip and from across the Sinai border. Furthermore, Egypt had closed the Suez Canal to Israeli shipping, as well as the Straits of Tiran which provided access to Eilat. Besides, the French were even more angered with Egyptian support for the Algerian revolt. Thus, the nationalization of the canal became the last straw for the British-French and the Israelis to seek vengence on the Egyptians. Anglo-French forces landed on the Suez Canal and the Israeli attacked the Sinai.

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Unable to prevent an assault on the Canal and to stem the advance of Israeli troops across the Sinai, Egypt prepared itself for the United Nations to act. At a special session of the General Assembly, it was decided to organize a peacekeeping force of about 8000 officers and men to separate the parties to the conflict, guard the canal clearing operation and arrange withdrawal of foreign forces. Later this force, named the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) would move to guard the Straits of Tiran, the Gaza Strip and patrol the Sinai border.

India provided an infantry battalion group of about 1100 personnel, only second in size to the Canadian Contingent which later was slightly reduced in size, leaving India with the largest contingent in UNEF. The Indian battalion (the first two were para units later to be selected more widely) was involved from the start in the Canal. They followed the Israeli withdrawal, clearing mines, improving roads and finally were deployed at Dier'el Belah, just south of Gaza guarding the armistice demarcation line. The many services units being smaller, joined with the Canadian Base Maintenance units to provide logistics support.

At the United Nations India had played a key role in the evolution of the UNEF. India's Permanent Representative, Ambassador Arthur Lall, had worked closely with the architects of UNEF, Lester Pearson, Minister of External Affairs of Canada and Dag Hammarskjold, the United Nations Secretary-General. The Indian Defence Minister, Krishna Menon, the leader of the Indian delegation to UN had facilitated the entry of UNEF in Egypt by the same quiet diplomacy.

In the field, I succeeded Col. (later Maj. Gen.) Sarup Singh Kalan as the Commander of the Second Indian Contingent. In recognition of India's importance at the United Nations, its excellent relations with the Arabs and Egypt in particular, and the size of its contribution led to an Indian being appointed Chief of Staff, in second position to the UNEF Commander, Lt. Gen. E L.M. Burns of Canada. It was my great fortune to hold this position for two years; when Gen. Burns left UN service, he was replaced by Lt. Gen. Prem Singh Gyani.

For nearly 10 years, UNEF kept the armistice demarcation lines quiet. Normalcy had returned to both sides of their lines. Yet basic issues remained unresolved. The surface peace and quiet had lulled Arabs and Israelis to do little to resolve their problems. However under the lid provided by UNEF, the pot was simmering. The forgotten Palestinians were reasserting their demands, had formed into *fedayeens* and started cross border activity from bases in Jordan and Syria. Early in 1956, U Thant sent me to Gaza in command of UNEF. The spring of 1966 witnessed the events which led to a call by President Nasser to withdraw

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UNEF on I6 May 1967 and the start of the June 1967 War between the Arabs and Israelis.

The *fedayeen* raids had brought Israeli reprisals, and by April 1967 the Syrian Air Force had been crippled and a raid into Jordan had adversely affected their forces' morale. Jordan and Syria were therefore anxious that Egypt relieve Israeli pressures by creating a third front by bringing their forces into the Sinai. Under the General Armistice Agreement of 1949, Egypt could only station a limited number of troops in the Sinai. Therefore, more of additional troops of sufficient strength to create a threat to Israel's southern flank would violate the Gaza.

Egypt also had to decide how to deal with the UNEF. The United Nations Force, by agreement, had responsibility for 5 kilometers by day and 2 kilometers by night along the border with Israel. Besides, it had troops in the Gaza Strip and at Sharm el Sheikh. In the end Egypt chose to ask UNEF to vacate the Sinai. When questioned by U Thant as to how UNEF could vacate a part whereas its mandate required patrolling the Sinai, Gaza Strip and Sharm el Sheikh. President Nasser asked UNEF to leave Sinai. UNEF was established by a General Assembly resolution and consent of the parties was essential. Dag Hammarskjold had only succeeded in obtaining Egyptian consent whereas the Israelis agreed to work with UNEF but refused to permit it on their territory. Deployed only on Egyptian territory and in Gaza, an Egyptian administered territory, the last word on the question of UNEF's remaining on the territory or not was with Egypt. In spite of the objections of Israel and the Western powers to the removal of UNEF, the Security Council and the Gencral Assembly failed to act and U Thant had to order UNEF to leave.

On 16 May 1967, UNEF moved into camps to prepare for the departure. UN troops at Sharm el Sheikh were not withdrawn until 23 May. That the withdrawal of UNEF would lead to fighting was obvious, yet the start of fighting on 5 June caught UNEF waiting for transportation and it suffered considerable material damage : 13 killed and I wounded. Indian troops deployed throughout the Gaza Strip because of the early removal of Canadian troops on Egyptian insistence suffered all but one casualty.

The Indian diplomatic position at the United Nation's was equally important. India supported Egypt's right to withdraw consent although it counselled restraint in actual withdrawal as it could lead to resumption of fighting. However, the much publicized versions in the Western Press that India had ordered unilateral withdrawal of its troops as had Yugoslavia was nothing but mischievous fabrication by those who did not wish India well as no less the United Nations. The conduct of our troops during the 6-Day War when they were caught in between was

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exemplary and many acts of bravery were performed. India's diplomatic stand was correct and handled with great skill.

CRUCIAL ROLE IN LEBANON

The problem that brought a UN observer mission to Lebanon UNOGIL was of a different making. A constitutional crisis in the summer of 1958 threatened to end in civil war and in open conflict between Lebanon and its own Arab allies. The country's population of one and a half million is divided almost equally between Muslims and Christians. Tha latter held political power at the time, and because of this, foreign policy tended towards an *entente* with the Western democracies, to which Lebanon looked for support. For some time there had been marked dissatisfaction on the part of the Muslim community and in other Arab capitals with the government's pro-Western policy and with the fact that President Chamoun, a Christian, wished to continue in office for a second term.

Following the murder of a prominent anti-government newspaper proprietor—allegedly by government agents—serious rioting broke out in the major towns of Beirut, Tripoli and Sidon, increasing in intensity and violence as days passed. Several people died in the violence, for which Chamoun blamed Syria in particular as being the chief instigator. He appealed to the Security Council to consider Lebanon's charges and to halt the interference in its national affairs. The Security Council delayed action until the Arab League had had an opportunity to settle the dispute, on the basis that it would be preferable if the dispute could be settled under regional arrangements; but when the League proved unsuccessful, the Council met on 11 June and adopted a Swedish resolution calling for the immediate dispatch of an observer mission "to ensure that there is no illegal infiltration of personnel or supply of arms or other material across the Lebanese border."[1]

The United Nations Observer Group in Lebanon (UNOGIL) wasted no time in forming. Its top tier was a politico-military triumvirate (Galo Plaza, former President of Ecuador, General Odd Bull of Norway, and Rajeshwar Dayal of India). Supporting them were one hundred field observers,[2] who were deployed throughout the country and not only along the Syrian border. To increase the mission's observation capability it was provided with eight light reconnaissance planes and two helicopters by the United States and Sweden—those from America being flown in by UN pilots. But UNOGIL's main problem was to gain access to those frontier areas held by dissident tribesmen, into and through which the infiltrations were allegedly being made. The tribes in these areas were on the whole uncooperative, though at times UN observers were allowed to enter under escort. With this handicap and the diffi-

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culty of movement general in the mountainous terrain, UNO GIL was faced with a formidable task, but in its first report published on 4 July, it stated that it had found no tangible evidence of mass infiltration of arms or of UAR nationals. This report did not please the Lebanese who called it "inconclusive, misleading and unwarranted"[3] and President Chamoun is alleged to have retorted that, "If we Lebanese can only tell a Syrian by his dialect, how can a Norwegian or a Swede tell an infiltrator from the Lebanese?" He seems to have missed the point that UNOGIL had reported "no evidence of mass infiltration." The Lebanese Government was claiming at this time that there were 3,000 Egyptian, Syrian, and Palestininan rebels inside its borders and that the United Arab Republic had supplied the anti-government forces with 36,000 weapons of various kinds; so it was not surprising that President Chamoun should have been so incensed. UNOGIL, for all its limitations including that of identification, found no proof of what was being alleged, then or later.

On 23 September, President Chamoun's term of office came to an end, and he was succeeded by the former army Commander in Chief, General Chehab. With a better-balanced representation in government, life began to return to normal. UNOGIL made a second report in July which basically confirmed the first, that there was no evidence to support the claim of massive smuggling of arms or armed rebels. Despite the difficulties of observation, over one hundred allegations had been investigated, but in no case had there been explicit confirmation of the complaint to warrant further action by UNOGIL. In short, though smuggling and infiltration were almost certainly going on, these activities were clearly no greater than usual and were confined to small arms and ammunition. When UNOGIL rendered its third and fourth reports, this opinion was maintained.

On 22 November, with Lebanon relatively quiet again, UNOGIL began its withdrawal, completing it on 10 December. In its six month existence, it had played an important calming role, and, so far as its mandate was concerned, had satisfactorily rebutted the allegations made in the first instance by Chamoun and the Lebanese Government, showing them to have prevented smuggling and infiltration, but it ensured that they were kept within limited bounds.

During UNOGIL's presence in Lebanon events occurred which though not directly concerned with the country's internal matters, did provide a dramatic counterbalance to its domestic preoccupations. On 14 July 1958 pro-Western King Faisal of Iraq and his Prime Minister, Nuri es Said were assasinated in a military *coup* and Iraq was declared a republic. The repercussions in Jordan and Lebanon, both pro-Western in their foreign policies, were immediate. Both turned to the West for protec-

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tion; Jordan to the United Kingdom and Lebanon to the United States. Both requests were met; while British paratroopers flew to Amman, United States Marines from the United States Sixth Fleet began landing across the resort beaches north of Beirut on 15 July. The intention was a show of force; but once having landed it is not so easy to withdraw without some embarrassment. In a way a UNOGIL might be said to have provided the face-saving device for the United States' withdrawal in the following October, in that the United States could point to the continuing existence of UNOGIL as being sufficient in terms of an international presence. UNOGIL never established a working relationship with the Americans and made it very clear from the outset that it had no intention of doing so, since UNOGIL was operating under a specific mandate from the Security Council which had nothing to do with reasons for the United States' presence in Lebanon

India's role in UNOGIL though small was significant. Rajeshwar Dayal was besides Galo Plaza, the other diplomat. As an Indian his role was crucial. He established helpful contacts and warm relations with Lebanese leaders and Arab leaders of the neighbouring states. Indians had also provided a group of military observers. However, Dayal's contribution was vital to the success of the United Nations Mission.

CONGO : A DISTINCTIVE ROLE

The independence of Congo turned out to very different from the way the Belgians had envisaged it. The Belgians had hoped that, like the British and the French, they would be called upon to play an important role in the newly independent state. But the Belgians had not created Congolese cadres to replace them in either the government or the security forces. Within a few days of independence, the whole administration disappeared in chaos and bloodshed. *The Force Publique*, renamed *Armee Nationale Congolaise* mutinied demanding removal of white officers. To appease the soldiers, the Prime Minister, Patrice Lumumba, appointed Victor Lundula, a former medical corps non-commissioned officer, as the new force commander and Joseph Mobutu, a former civilian quarter master's clerk, as Chief of Staff. He then allowed the soldiers to elect their officers.

Dissatisfied with these developments, Moise Tshombe, President of the copper-rich province of Katanga, proclaimed Katanga's own independence on 11 July. Belgian troops, which had remained in the bases, permitted them under a Treaty of Friendship, were joined by metropolitan forces from Belgium; together they intervened to protect life and property. Fearing that Belgians intended to re-occupy the country, the Congolese Government sought help from the United States, which

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advised them that UN endorsement was essential. On 13 July, Lumumba requested Dag Hammarskjold, UN Secretary General, for military assistance and in the meantime asked Ghana for help.

On 14 July the Security Council called upon the Belgians to withdraw their forces from the Congo and authorized the Secretary General to provide the Congolese Government with what military assistance might be necessary until the National Security Forces were capable of fulfilling their tasks.[4] Then on 22 July, in addition to calling upon Belgians to withdraw speedily, it requested all states to refrain from action that might impede the restoration of law and order or in any way prejudice the Congolese Government's authority.[5] It also invited the United Nations agencies to render such assistance to the Secretary-General as he might require.

The United Nations quickly established the ONUC, the peacekeeping force, and troops from several nations were airlifted and despatched to the national capital, Leopoldville (now Kinshasa) and the provinces to deal with the disorders. The *Force Publique*, lacking proper leadership, was out of control and had in fact become a positive force of disorder. Determined to protect their economic interests in the mineral-rich province of Katanga, the Belgians increased their military intervention and actively supported Tshombe's secession. The United Nations operations were further hampered by a dispute over the disarming of the Congolese Army on a personal initiative of the British Chief of Defence Staff in Ghana, Maj.-Gen. Henry Alexander, who had arrived in Leopoldville with his troops to serve with ONUC. When the Secretary General's Special Representative in the Congo, Ralph Bunche, failed to arrange the entry of UN troops into Katanga, the Security Council met again and resolved on 9 August, 1960, that such action by UN troops was necessary to implement the mandate; called upon the Belgians to withdraw from Katanga and reaffirmed that the ONUC would not be a party to, or in any way intervene in the Congo's internal affairs.[6]

Hammarskjold's vision of ONUC had two-fold aims; first, a large-scale peacekeeping operation based on troops from African states; technical, logistics and air transport were to be supplied by others. He believed, that in order to maintain an international force, adequate regional representation was required. The peacekeeping force was to arrange withdrawal of foreign troops, restore law and order, assist ANC in training and reorganization to assume full security responsibilities. Hammarskjold's second aim was to provide massive UN assistance to restore the economy and help development. His concept was to establish a model for Africa that would enable newly independent black African states to reduce reliance on their former colonial masters and not fall into the neo-colonial trap and avoid becoming a victim of the East-West conflict.

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With the above in mind, Hammarskjold had appointed Ralph Bunche, his Under Secretary General for Special Political Affairs, as his Special Representative in the Congo. He chose two Swedes to be appointed as Chief of Civilian Operations and one as Force Commander. At Headquarters he chose a Nigerian as his Civil Operations Adviser and requested Prime Minister Nehru that I be made available as his Military Adviser. I joined the Secretary General in New York on 23 July 1960. The Congo operation was already under way with some 9,000 troops. ONUC Commander's staff already included a Moroccan Deputy-Commander, an Ethiopian Chief of Staff and a Canadian as the head of air transport. I left for the Congo immediately to organize ONUC Headquarters and establish administration, communications and the logistics of the force.

During my meeting with Nehru, before leaving for New York, he had impressed upon me that he wished to avoid the use of Indian combat units in the Congo. I had informed Hammarskjold accordingly; his and Nehru's views at that time were identical. The first Indian personnel to arrive in the Congo were a group of staff officers who were posted from UNEF. Within a week I was back in New York with my recommendations and after obtaining the Secretary General's approval, requests for staff, air crew and technicians, logistic and communications units were dispatched. It was only a matter of weeks when Indian staff personnel had brought order to chaos at ONUC Headquarters, together with their colleagues from other countries. Indian supply and medical units were in full operation. Besides the Indian units, specialized service units were provided by Canada, Pakistan and the Nordic countries, air crew from Canada, India, Nordic states, Yugoslavia and Latin America. India held many key related staff positions at Headquarters. It was thanks to their ability and to the goodwill they established with their working partners from other nations that an almost impossible task of administering and logistic support of ONUC was done as well as it could be.

Early in August 1960, the Security Council authorised UN troops to enter Katanga. Three days after the passage of the resolution, Hammarskjold arrived in Elisabethville, the provincial capital of Katanga, with the advance elements of the United Nation's Swedish contingent, which took over security duties from the Belgians there and in Jadotville, a mining centre. However, the Belgians still remained in the province; the secession of Katanga had by no means ended and Hammarskjold's relations with the Congolese Government, tenuous from the start, now worsened because he had refused Lumumba's demand to include Congolese representatives and their military along with the United Nations advance elements in Katanga. This caused the Secretary General to be criticised by the Soviet Union. The Soviets also tried to

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get the Council to accept that Hammarskjold's implementation of its resolution should be subject to agreement by the troop-contributing states. They failed, but later Hammarskjold had this suggestion in mind when he established a Congo Advisory Committee along the lines already adopted in the Advisory Committee for UNEF.

At Leopoldville, relations between Lumumba and Dr. Bunche had soured; Lumumba's expectations from the United Nations did not fit in with the latter's mandate or, for that matter, the instructions Bunche had received from the Secretary General. This led Bunche to request the Secretary General that he return to his post in New York. Realizing India's important role at the United Nations and the ability, as well as loyalty of Indians, Hammarskjold requested and obtained the services of Ambassador Rajeshwar Dayal, who had already served the United Nations with great distinction in UNOGIL. Unfortunately, his arrival coincided with the worst crisis in the Congo.

By early September, a serious constitutional crisis had developed. Lumumba, frustrated by the United Nations' refusal to quell the Katanga secession by force, decided to do so himself. He launched the Congolese Army with the aid of Soviet aircraft and ground transport which had initially been made available to the civilian administration. His ill-prepared force, lacking access to airfields in Katanga, landed in the neighbouring Kasai province and immediately became embroiled in internecine fighting with Baluba tribes. Many Balubas were killed; others were made homeless and became refugees, further adding to the critical problems facing the United Nations aid agencies. The Congolese President, Joseph Kasavubu, had opposed Lumumba's action; as the differences between their views widened, Kasavubu dismissed him under the authority given him by the "*loi fundamentale*." Nothing daunted Lumumba; he in turn "dismissed" the President. Kasavubu replaced him as Prime Minister with Joseph Ileo, the Senate President, who proved ineffective in the face of political squabbling and the collapse of all Congolese authority. While a divided UN debated the problem on 16 September, Colonel Mobutu, the Army Chief of Staff, staged a *coup* neutralizing Kasavubu and Lumumba and dismissing Ileo's government.

Two days earlier, the Soviets, bitterly critical of Hammarskjold, had introduced a resolution in the Security Council requiring the Secretary General to remove the Commander of the ONUC. After a number of further attempts by the Soviets and others to obtain similar Council resolutions. the United States gained approval for a Special Session of the General Assembly under the Uniting for Peace Resolution.[7] Because of the importance they attached to the United Nation's role in the Congo, many heads of state and government attended this session. The ensuing debate was tumultuous. Hammarskjold was severely attacked by the

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Soviets; they called for his removal as Secretary General and his replacement by a "troika" of three men. Hammarskjold survived this attack with the help of the middle powers and Third World countries, and far from being dismissed, he was requested by the Special Session to continue his efforts to implement previous resolutions[8] and appoint a conciliation commission. The Assembly recognized Kasavubu as the constitutionally-elected President of the Congo by accepting the credentials of his delegation.[9] However, having failed in the attempt to oust Hammarskjold, the Soviets thereafter opposed his every move, making his task ever more difficult.

Lumumba meanwhile had not been inactive. He enjoyed considerable political influence at home but his seditious utterances soon led to his arrest by Mobutu. This caused a furore among the United Nations' members making it well-nigh impossible to get them to agree on any future course of action. Nor did it settle anything, for even in goal Lumumba was a problem. Mobutu had him removed from Leopoldville because of his popularity there, but his presence was equally influential among the soldiers at the prison. Mobutu transferred him again, this time to Tshombe's custody in Katanga. On 13 February 1961, Lumumba was killed by his captors.

At the United Nations the pro-Lumumba states in Africa, such as Ghana and Egypt, many non-aligned states and the Socialist bloc had wanted Mobutu's ouster by ONUC and the restoration of Lumumba to his elected office. The West and many African states were sympathetic towards Mobutu. The Council Resolution that was finally adopted followed Hammarskjold's suggestions and became the major mandate for future actions. This Resolution specifically authorized ONUC "to prevent the occurrence of civil war," and to use force if neccssary in the last resort for this purpose, and not only in self-defence as in the past; it called for the withdrawal of Belgian and all other foreign military and para-military personnel, political advisers and mercenaries, urged the convening of the Congolese Parliament and the reorganization of the Congolese Army (ANC) and an end to its interference in the country's political life.[10]

As Special Representative of Hammarskjold in the Congo, Dayal had to withstand the impact of what was happening at the United Nations and the attitude of many of the member states to its Secretary General. Because of the importance of the United Naticns operations, many countries had opened their embassies including those who had contributed troops. Regardless of the reality of life in the Congo, which was chaotic, Dayal had to spend long hours dealing with diplomats who only repeated the demands already made by their governments at the United Nations, Dayal, a capable and brilliant civil servant and diplo-

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mat, acting under the direction of the Secretary General, was thereby unable to satisfy the demands of pro-or anti-Lumumba states which were mostly unre sonable as they exceeded ONUC's mandate.

In New York, as the pressure of diplomatic attacks mounted on Hammarskjold, he sent for Dayal to assist him, leaving me in charge in the Congo. When fighting broke out between UN troops who were guarding the Ghana Embassy and Congolese troops who were ordered by Colonel Mobutu to remove him, Dayal was sent back to Leopoldville. Dayal had now to bear the brunt of the frustrations of the two opposing groups of diplomats, who pressed their demands. Some even tried to influence their national contingents to act independently of ONUC. All this made Dayal's role extremely difficult and he left the Cengo not long thereafter. It took a long time to find another Special Representative who equalled Dayal's remarkable qualities.

Lumumba's death led to the splintering of the fledgling nation and the outbreak of civil war. For this the United Nations was blamed and Hammarskjold came under attack for his failure to protect Congolese leaders and cope with lawlessness. After careful consultation, Hammarskjold advocated eight measures.[11] The first five were : an investigation into Lumumba's death; protection of the civil population against armed attack; containment of clashes between armed units by introducing ceasefire arrangements, neutral zones. etc; reactivation of the United Nations attempt to reorganize the ANC and elimination of the Belgian political element. He argued that these five tasks could be pursued within a flexible interpretation of the existing mandate outline above. But a new mandate would be needed for the last three measures : UN's right to inspect trains and aircraft for arms; the control of funds and capital and the compulsory convening of the Congolese Parliament.[12]

With a strengthened mandate, ONUC launched a major initiative to deal with the civil war, restore the basic economy and help the Conciliation Commission to start the negotiation process leading to the convening of parliament. Though impatient with the pace of developments, the African nations became helplessly divided. Many had contingents in ONUC. Of these Egypt, Libya, Morocco, Guinea and Ghana, joined by Ceylon and Indonesia (both Asian countries with troops in ONUC), met at Casablanca in April and decided that insufficient progress was being made to implement S/4741 of 21 February. They wanted a time-limit to be met, after which enforcement action should follow. By contrast, the French-speaking states (Guinea and Mali) with some other governments met at Tananarive and supported the more cautious approach of the Conciliation Commission.

A similar division developed between non-African troop-contributing countries. Several of them had little faith in the Conciliation Commis-

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sion; all member-states felt that Moise Tshombe and his Belgian advisers had manipulated the Conference at Tananarive. Others supported the proposals of the Conciliation Commission on the grounds that they only reflected the reality of Congolese politics. In the face of this diversity, the General Assembly on 15 April,[13] was able only to call on Belgium to comply with UN resolutions, and had to demand that Belgian and other foreign military, para-military and political personnel, not under UN Command, including all mercenaries, should be withdrawn.

The dissatisfaction of the Casablanca Powers manifested in ONUC in a number of ways, but generally their contingents had received "wait and see" orders. They complied with ONUC directives with caution and it became evident in New York that new troops would have to be brought in. Hammarskjold now pursued India and succeeded in obtaining an infantry brigade of about 6,000 officers and men with their complete equipment and transport. By the spring of 1961, the advance elements of the group began to arrive and were all available for operations within a few weeks.

In another resolution,[14] the Assembly called on the Congolese to desist from seeking a military solution to their problems and to prevent the introduction of military hardware into the country. They were to release members of parliament and the provincial assemblies who had been detained and convene parliament. Lastly, the Assembly decided to appoint a second Conciliation Commission to end the political crisis.

ONUC then succeeded in negotiating an agreement between Kasavubu and Gizenga, who had assumed the leadership of Lumumba's followers. Under the United Nations protective agreements the parliamentarians met at Lovanium University, outside Leopoldville. Cyrille Adoula emerged as the Prime Minister of the new government with Gizenga as the first Deputy Prime Minister. The new arrangements covered the whole country except Katanga. To this problem ONUC now turned its attention. In August it started rounding up mercenaries but in the absence of full cooperation by some of the consulates of Western European countries, from which the mercenaries had been recruited, the ONUC operation turned into a military operation. This had historic consequences for the United Nations. On a flight to meet Tshombe, who had fled to neighbouring Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia), Hammarskjold was killed in a plane crash.

In Katanga the brunt of the ONUC operation was born by Indian troops. The Indian brigade provided the single major organised military formation and the Indian commander, Brig. K.A.S. Raja was the overall commander. The performance of the troops was exemplary. However, there were a number of sensitive issues involved and therefore the Indian leadership was under question.

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The major issues concerned the level of force used by ONUC, disregarding the fact that it itself had been the victim of force used against it by the Katanga *Gendarmarie* and white mercenaries. Secondly, the nature of the operations; there were two, and the method of their authorisation was questionable. The first operation was authorised by the Secretary General, whereas the second was not. However, Cruise O'Connor, the United Nations' representative in Katanga and Mahmoud Khianri, the Chief of Civilian Operations who led the negotiations, said that the second operation had been authorised. In fact, Brig. Raja had received no such orders from Gen. Sean MacEoin, Commander ONUC, but acted on the advise of O'Connor, as had been the practice, believing it had ONUC Headquarter's approval.

The conduct of the military operation proved the high quality of the Indian troops in operations conducted abroad under Indian leadership. However, at a political level ONUC operations in Katanga were a setback for the United Nations and a tragedy resulting in Hammarskjold's death in an air crash.

A ceasefire was arranged, but Katanga remained in a state of embattled rebellion. Disappointed with the United Nations Gizenga returned to Stanleyville to reorganise his troops for an operation against Katanga. The Central Government also launched an offensive against Tshombe's forces along the Kasai-Katanga border Soon Kivu, Northern and Western Katanga and Eastern Kasai all became areas of renewed fighting. The Security Council, while depreciating the secessionist activities of Katanga, as well as attacks on ONUC personnel, now authorized "the Secretary General to take vigorous action, including the use of the requisite means of force, for the immediate apprehension, detention pending legal action and/or deportation of all foreign military and paramilitary personnel and political advisers...and mercenaries...."[15]

In the months that followed, ONUC was occupied with helping Adoula's Government restore law and order. While it provided some help in reorganizing and training the ANC, Adoula and Mobutu preferred to make bilateral arrangements. Meanwhile, attempts were being made to reconcile Adoula and Tshombe and provide for an amicable reunification. In August 1962 Hammarskjold's successor, U Thant, proposed a plan of National Reconciliation and by the first week of September, he had the acceptance of both Adoula and Tshombe. The Plan provided for a federal constitution, the regulation of currency, the sharing of revenues and earnings, the integration of the army and security forces, a proclamation of amnesty and the reservation of foreign relations to the central government. Tshombe dragged his feet; on 10 December, ONUC announced that because Katanga had not made any serious effort to carry out the plan it would proceed to implement UN resolutions to end the secession, using force in self-defence if attacked.

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Meanwhile, Katanganese harassment of ONUC continued. On 24 December, the Katanga *Gendarmerie* opened fire on ONUC positions, force-landed an unarmed ONUC helicopter, blocked ONUC movement and fired at ONUC positions in Elisabethville and other places, causing casualties. Only after ONUC representatives failed to persuade Tshombe to order that his *gendarmerie* desist from attacking ONUC and to remove roadblocks did the United Nations troops act. Soon ONUC was in control of Elisabethville and by 3 January 1963 it had secured the mining installations at Jadotville. On that day, representatives of the central government assumed control in Elisabethville. At a meeting with ONUC representatives on 17 January, Tshombe at last formally agreed to end the secession and ONUC entered Kolwezi on 21 January.

By now ONUC had carried out most of its mandate. The Congo had been unified; foreign military and para-military personnel and political advisers had been removed and progress had been made in coping with the revenues from foreign economic interests, i.e., the central government assumed responsibility but agreed to share them in Katanga. In the months that followed, ONUC was engaged in restoring the central government's authority throughout the country and assisting in the maintenance of law and order. It was time to reduce the United Nations' enormous financial burden and to start a gradual withdrawal. The last of ONUC left by the end of June 1964.

The third and final rounds of ONUC's military operations were conducted by the second Indian brigade group under command of Brigadier (later Lt. Gen.) Reginald Noronah. A second brigade was composed of Swedes, Ethiopians and Irish troops. A Katanga Command was established with Maj. Gen. D. Prem Chand as the General Commanding Officer. The military part was conducted efficiently, continuing the great tradition established by Brig. Raja's brigade Additional factors that assured success were an improved area command and intensive preparation at political level. India emerged with dignity and honour and greatly enhanced its prestige in the United Nations.

The Indian infantry brigade group returned to India in 1962 without replacement. Several important staff positions continued to be held by Indian officers as also some service units remained until the end of ONUC operations in June 1964.

CONCLUSION

India's Permanent Mission at the United Nations had a central role during the period that its armed forces played a key role. After the withdrawal of UNEF India has not had an opportunity to contribute troops. India's Permanent Mission, always led by an experienced and

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skilful diplomat, provided political leadership, took initiatives and guided the activities of UN peacekeeping in the best traditions of India's policy of non-alignment and to best serve the cause of the parties involved. India maintained a high prestige and its advice and help was much sought after by member states and the Secretary-General.

With India's economic progress, development and growth of its military potential, its political power and influence in the world has grown too. While Brazil and Nigeria are perceived as powers to be recognized within their regions, Japan and West Germany are accepted as new economic powers, India is perceived as a growing power with its ever increasing influence throughout the world. Realizing this, India has hesitated to come forward with offers of assistance but has wisely made it known that it is ready to assist. As the present leader of the non-aligned nations or even otherwise, India's role will remain prominent.

Within the secretariat, Hammarskjold had brought C.V Narsasimhan, an outstanding administrator as an Under Secretary General in his own office. "CV" as he is popularly known was an adviser on the "Congo Club," later became *Chef de Cabinet* to U Thant. In his new role he was at the helm of management and direction of peacekeeping operations. His ICS experience stood him well as both the civilian and military leaders of peacekeeping operations had a person they could depend on for understanding and support.

The office of the *Chef de Cabinet* is once again held by an Indian, Virendra Dayal who continues in the great style set by CV and his own uncle, the formidable Rajeshwar Dayal. Before his present appointment, Virendra was associated with Brian Urquhart, Under Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs responsible for UN peacekeeping operations.

In the Cyprus peacekeeping operations three great Indians served as commanders. Lt. Gen. Prem Singh Gyani was the first, having been transferred from UNEF. Gyani was followed by Gen. K.S. Thimayya. "Timmy" was loved and respected by all Cypriots and those under his command. Cyprus commemorated his service to the island state by issuing a special stamp When Timmy died in Cyprus he was succeeded by a Finn, and he later by Lt Gen. D. Prem Chand who had already served the United Nations in Katanga with distinction Prem Chand chose to return at the end of the 1970s and was appointed designate Commander UN Temporary Administrative Group in Namibia.

India can be proud of its long and meritorious record of its contribution to UN peacekeeping. India's role today is political and offers many opportunities. However, a need may well arise in the future to assist with troops or material or equipment. We should be prepared to answer such a call as we are amongst the few who can render this type of assistance.

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CHALLENGES OF NATION-BUILDING : UGANDA—A CASE STUDY

By CAROLINE THOMAS*

The success or failure of nation-building in the new states has far-reaching implications for domestic, regional and international stability and security. This is aptly illustrated in South Asia today, where differences of language, culture and religion forge great obstacles to the creation of single nation states in both India and Sri Lanka. However, of all the regions of the developing world, it is sub-Saharan Africa that perhaps presents the greatest challenge to the idea of a nation-state. Colonial boundaries cut through ethnic groups and led to the creation of post-colonial states that were in no sense nations. These states contained several nations (or tribes) or part of nations within them. Unity that had been forged to rid colonies of foreign rule collapsed when independence was won and tribal loyalties resurfaced. Some states, such as Tanzania, have fared better than others since then in their efforts to create domestic unity, harmony and a nation-state Others, such as Uganda, have sunk into anarchy.

This paper looks at the example of Uganda in some detail. Particular attention is paid to the decade of the 1970's when Idi Amin was in power, and Uganda hit the international headlines on account of his reign of terror Trends and events, both before and after Amin, are examined in an effort to establish whether the 1970's were an aberration or part of a continuing tradition of represssion in the name of state security. The Tanzanian action of intervening in Uganda, whatever the motive, had the effect of ridding Uganda of Amin. This action is analyzed in terms of its legitimacy and its consequences. The idea that nation-building is something which has to be generated from within, and cannot be imposed from without, is raised.

I

AMIN'S POLICIES IMPEDE NATION-BUILDING PROCESS

Politics of Repression

WHEN Idi Amin captured the reins of government from Milton Obote in 1971, his military *coup* was welcomed by thousands of rejoicing people who thronged the streets of Kampala. For them, the takeover offered the hope of a less authoritarian and less ethnically divisive government than they had been experiencing increasingly under Obote.

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The particular advancement of Obote's Lango tribe, both in the army and in civilian life, as well as the preferential development of his northern region, had been the cause of much bad feeling. So, too, had his imposition of a one-party state under such arbitrary laws as the 1967 Detention Act.[1] Nepotism and authoritarianism were descriptions applied to Obote's rule with increasing frequency as the years slipped by. In the socio-economic field, his "Move to the Left" was not welcomed by all quarters of Ugandan society. The Baganda, for instance, felt their privileged positions being slowly but surely eroded, and they became[2] more sensitive about this after the storming of their Kabaka's palace. The change, at first sight, was thus a welcome one to many sectors of Ugandan society.

Seven years later, the picture had completely changed. *Amnesty International* published a disparaging report on Amin's regime, which seemed to confirm the horrific stories that had been filtering out of Uganda ever since the earliest days of his rule. The report claimed that Amin had established a

> structure of repression [that] can be said without fear of exaggeration to have transformed the whole society in a short period of time into a ruthless military dictatorship marked by arbitrary arrest, torture, murder, the removal of virtually all fundamental human rights, the terrorization of the population, the turning of tens of thousands of Ugandans into refugees.[3]

Moreover, the story was not just one of human ruination, but also of economic despoilation. Having exiled the Asian business community in 1972, Amin placed their expropriated assets in the hands of Nubian and Kakwa soldiers and civilians. These people knew nothing about the retail trade. The Ugandan economy crumbled; Amin's so-called "Economic War" was a complete and utter failure. Our focus here, however, is his reign of terror.

Within a few days of coming to power, Amin declared at a news conference :

> You cannot govern within a one party system. You need an opposition in order to criticise If you govern with only one party, you are bound to make mistakes.[1]

The history of Uganda over the next eight years goes far to bear this out, yet in a negative rather than a positive manner. For Amin soon set aside any idea of returning democracy to Uganda, and he assumed the role of President for Life. Even a single party became an anathema to him. He went about eliminating all opposition, real, imaginary or potential. He built up a narrow support from the tiny Muslim community in Uganda and his own Kakwa tribe and other West Nilotics. Ultimately, even these people were to feel the horrors of his insecurity.

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The history of Uganda during Amin's years in power makes horrific reading. At various times different elements in Ugandan society, civil, religious and military, came under attack. Yet these specific attacks took place against the background of continuous, indiscriminate torture and murder by his special security forces.

The police force was gradually decimated from an estimated 14,000 before 1971, to 2,000 in 1979.[5] In its place, Amin developed special squads to deal with internal security, recruiting an average 6,000 people a year. The Public Safety Unit (PSU) was the most feared. The others were the State Research Bureau, the Military Police and the Presidential Bodyguard. Having established the instruments of repression, all that remained was for Amin to decide upon the victims.

On gaining power, Amin immediately set about purging the Army of Lango and Acholi soldiers, who made up as much as 70 per cent of it. Within two months, the Karume Falls Bridge over the Nile had become known as the "Bridge of Blood." These two ethnic groups not only in the Army, but also in civilian life, were to suffer throughout Amin's rule because of their former connection with the deposed Obote. Amin systematically replaced these massacred soldiers with men from his own West Nile area, and increasingly he too relied upon Nubian soldiers drawn from the south of Sudan. Their loyalty was to him only. The Army became the instrument for general repression. Soldiers were given almost unlimited powers of arrest without warrant, ostensibly to fight the rampant problem of *kondoism* (armed robbery with violence—an almost endemic part of life in Uganda). However, eye-witness accounts have suggested that the soldiers were themselves responsible for many acts of this type.

Apart from purging the Army of Lango and Acholi soldiers, those two ethnic groups suffered on several other occasions. In 1972, after the failure of the exile invasion force, they suffered again. But the apogee of their persecution came in December 1976, and lasted well into 1977. Amin got wind of a major plot to overthrow him, ostensibly involving extensive dissident networks within the country. Immediately suspecting these tribes, Amin sent his killer squads to search the Lango and Acholi districts for weapons and suspects. So great and so ruthless was the violence of these men as they set about their task, that the Anglican Archbishop Luwum reproached their cruelty. In January 1977, the operation was stepped up and Amin sent as many as 5,000 soldiers[6] and squad-members to Acholi and Lango towns in an effort to liquidate all supposed opposition. All soldiers belonging to these tribes (and there were not many of them left by now) were to be exterminated. The civilian population was to be terrorized.

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Before the slaughter began, the capital of the Acholi people, Gulu, housed 50,000 Acholis. The Nubian population of the town numbered only 2,000.[7] After the purging, Amin declared the town to be a Nubian town, and installed an *apartheid* system whereby surviving Acholis were forced to live outside specific limits.

Such was the price paid by these groups who were natural suspects and automatic scapegoats whenever Amin smelt a plot or invented one. Their association with Obote could not be eradicated, especially while the latter remained alive and a threat to Amin.

By 1978 there were only 4 Acholis left in the Army. Yet, they were by no means the only group within the Army to suffer. In 1974, there were reports of over 300 Lugbara officers and men fleeing to the Sudan after hearing of an anti-Lugbara expedition that had been launched against them because of an apparent attempt on Amin's life by some Lugbara soldiers.

The Christian Church was another sector of Ugandan society that suffered greatly. Early in his reign, him had unleashed his anger on the Catholics of Baganda, whose articulate condemnation of his methods and policies affronted him. Later, however, he turned his anger on to the Anglican community. This too, reached its peak in December 1976 and the early months of 1977.

Archbishop Luwum's condemnation of the violence perpetrated by Amin's henchmen convinced Amin that the Anglican Church was in league with the Lango and Acholi in plots to oust him. His wrath erupted on 14 February, when he announced that he had discovered (yet another) pro-Obote *coup*-plot. On 16 February, he summoned 3,000 soldiers to a mass meeting in Kampala along with diplomats and other prominent public figures. The Archbishop and his bishops were called too; a tract, incriminating the Archbishop in the *coup*-plot, was read out to the congregation. Luwum was arrested and within hours he wes dead, killed in one of Amin's notorious car crashes.[8] This ushered in a purge against the Anglican Church. In September 1977, Amin banned 27 religious organizations, leaving only Islam, the Church of Uganda (Anglican), the Roman Catholic Church and the Ugandan Orthodox Church as legally functioning religious bodies.[9] Yet, only the adherents of the Islamic faith practised without harassment, a point which was proven when the SRB men surrounded the banned Gospel Mission at Makerere in April 1978, and when 170 people inside refused to stop praying, they opened fire on them.[10]

Educated people formed yet another target for Amin's torture and killing. Amin himself was a man of little schooling; he drew his soldiers mainly from rural and underdeveloped areas of the country. Uganda became a country impoverished of bureaucrats, professionals and academics. Many fled before they would be killed, assuming the fate that

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awaited them if they remained. Law was put into the hands of the military courts, and the fate of civilian jurors was sealed when Uganda's Chief Justice, Benedicto Kiwanuka, was arrested and killed by disembowelment.[11]

In May 1973, Ali Mazrui resigned as Head of the Department of Political Science at Makerere University due to the lack of academic freedom. Two years later, the All-African Students Union sent Amin a cable congratulating him for his "dynamic, patriotic and revolutionary stand on African issues in general and in Uganda in particular."[12] This would have been ironic were the situation of students inside Uganda not so horrific. For Makerere students all too often felt the cruel blow of Amin's sword. In the summer of 1976, for example, Amin sealed off the campus and sent his troops in to teach the students a lesson. Their crime had been to call for the removal of Taban, Amin's uncontrollable son, who had already been expelled from the Lumumba University in the USSR for his violent behaviour. The figure of those killed has never been verified but over one hundred were taken off to prison in army vehicles.[13] In the intense purging of early 1977, they were to suffer a similar fate.

Apart from the attacks on specific sectors of the population outlined above, arbitrary arrest, torture, killing and disappearance went on continuously during Amin's Presidency. The disappearance of Professor Emiru,[14] very early during Amin's Presidency, was merely one of the first of a very long chain of unexplained disappearances. Two Americans, Stroh and Seidel, disappeared in July 1971. Judge David Jeffreys Jones confirmed from a position of safety outside Uganda that his investigations showed conclusively that the two men had been killed by Ugandan troops.[15]

In July 1974, Amin appointed a Commission of Inquiry into disappearances. In his findings Justice Said, who headed this Commission, remarked,

> There is not even the remotest suggestion that President Amin directed the disappearance or the annihilation of an ethnic group of persons....[16]

He admitted the disappearance of 308 persons, and gave explanations for these. As a result of the findings, Obura, the former Deputy Commissioner of Police, and Ali Towilli, Head of the PSU, were tried and acquitted in July 1974. The findings of the Commission and the outcome of the trial both made a mockery of the legal process in Uganda, given the countless reports by international organizations and exiles of what was really happening.

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Amin declared 1978 a "year of peace and reconstruction", but the indiscriminate violations of human rights did not let up. In March of that year, to cite but one example, the Chairman of the Uganda Industrial Court, Amooti Sebugwaago, was dragged from his car in Kampala and shot dead by SRB men in broad daylight and before the eyes of two of his children.[17]

By 1978, Amin had decided that his own Kakwa clique could not be trusted and should be purged. Consequently, Adrisi, his brother-in-law and second-in-command, was seriously injured in a "car crash",[18] Ali Towilli was done away with, as was the head of the commandos, Colonel Khamis Safi.[19] The Kakwa clique was by now a divided house with some members anxious to secure their future should Amin fall. The power base on which Amin could rely was narrowing.

Explanations of the Violence of Amin and his Supporters

It is germane at this point to suggest some possible reasons for the behaviour of Amin and his supporters. For this may help us when we come to consider the legitimacy (or otherwise) of the Tanzanian invasion of Uganda which precipitated the fall of Idi Amin.

The reason for such ruthless and callous behaviour in a leader has been explained by people in various professions. G. Ivan Smith captures the span of interpretations when he writes "Psychotic, schizophrenic, syphilis-victim, cancer suffered...there have been many attempts to explain Idi Amin's cruelly unpredictable mentality."[20]

Many journalists and medical people have put forward the idea that Amin was suffering from an illness called "hypermania." This has been described as "a mental condition in which the thought processes are speeded up, with new ideas quickly crowding out the old ones: with irrational outbursts of anger and fault-finding alternating rapidly with unjustified optimism and grandiose ideas. It is a condition of restless activity necessitating periods of complete rest for recovery."[21]

While this explanation seems sufficient to account for Amin's behaviour, it should not be forgotten that he was not personally responsible for every incident of murder, or torture, or disappearance. There were plenty of soldiers and civilians in Uganda willing to take advantage of Amin's lax, even encouraging attitude towards any crime committed in the name of security.[22]

Two Ugandan academics, Edward Kannyo and Lukatome A. Kayiira, have offered a further explanation.[23] They admit that Amin's character was abnormal, but suggest other reasons for the perpetration of pointless violence on such a massive scale. Firstly, they point to the breakdown of discipline in the Army which had begun well before Amin's time; and

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secondly, the increasing use of military and paramilitary forces to stifle dissent and opposition in the 1966-67 period.

Under Obote, the Army had undergone an internal competition. Amin had recruited Nubi, Kakwa and Sudanese, while Obote promoted his own Lango and Acholi. Obote had even tried to build up an alternative military support in the form of the General Service Unit, which developed into an extensive spy network. This competition was resented by many in the Army. Added to this was the bad feeling engendered by recurring disputes over pay and privileges.[24]

The use of military and paramilitary forces to stifle dissent gained ascendence in the Obote years. The storming of the Kabaka's palace in 1966 led to a heightened awareness by the military of their strength vis-a-vis other sectors of Ugandan society, as did their infamous "map-reading exercises" in areas where disaffection was suspected. After the assassination attempt on Obote in 1969, the soldiers were authorized to carry out widespread repression. During these years, peaceful demonstrations were also met by the use of force. When Bagandan students wanted to pay their respects in their traditional fashion on the death of the exiled Kabaka in 1969, they were prevented from marching barefoot to the tomb of their ancestral leaders by mechanized units of soldiers.[25] Such was the soldiers' confidence in their position of power that they were responsible for much of the vandalism that was endemic around Kampala. Obote failed to instil any sense of responsibility into those whom he endowed with power and authority.

Ali Mazrui has speculated as to why, under Amin, such behaviour was polarized. He suggests it can be explained by reference to the warrior tradition, emasculated by the British and resurrected by Amin. Mazrui interprets Amin's *coup* in structural, as well as in personal terms. In personal terms, he notes Amin's dislike of Obote who undermined his authority within the Army, and who in some respects undermined the Army itself. Structurally, Mazrui interprets the *coup* as a break in the coalition between the intellectuals and the military and the establishment of a new coalition in the form of a military-agrarian complex, whereby rural soldiers are linked with their rural brothers. The hold on national power by a Western educated elite is thereby checked and the development of a military ethnocracy is provided for. Mazrui calls these soldiers the

> lumpen militariat, that class of semi-organized, rugged, and semi-literate soldiery which has begun to claim a share of power and influence in what would otherwise have become a heavily privileged meritocracy of the educated.[26]

Mazrui agrees with Kannyo and Kayiira's assessment of the develop-

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ment of such a military force as having its origins well before Amin's *coup*, and he lays the blame for the commencement of the militarization of Uganda's political system on the shoulders of Obote. He charges Obote with :

> Expanding the domain of fear as strategy of political persuasion, complete with an elaborate system of internal informers and with a readiness to display military might as a method of silencing dissent.[27]

Though most of Mazrui's arguments seem to be illuminating as regards our understanding of the irresponsibility of the Ugandan military, a few of them cannot but strike the reader as rather surprising. He remarks, for example, that "...new standards of decency, morality and propriety are set by the soldiers.[28] As an example, he cites; "...the mini-skirt has disappeared in Uganda partly in response to the moral puritanism of the military government." Yet such a position is hard to reconcile with the atrocities perpetrated by these "military puritans." He gets carried away with a romantic vision of what was, in actual fact, a grotesque reality—the institutionalization of a perverted, arbitrary and ruthless repression. No established and recognizable guidelines existed for the Ugandan people to ensure that the wrath of the military or paramilitary was not incurred.

The heart of the matter appears to be that efforts towards integrating a single nation had simply not developed to a point where soldiers realized what their true function was as defenders of Uganda's territorial integrity. They had no conception of themselves as members—and servants—of a national state. They had no conception of the rights and duties of citizens and of the limits of their role as soldiers. Hence they abused their power. The people drafted into the security squads suffered from the same underdeveloped vision of their position in a single state. The poor example set by the highest echeleons of government contributed to this. A unique opportunity for guiding different ethnic groups towards a single nation was missed. Amin did not initiate the favouring of one ethnic group at the expense of another. This policy had been used by Obote before him. Amin intensified a policy that was already entrenched in Uganda when he gained power. As well as this, he pursued arbitrary, indiscriminate killing and torture. Far from contributing anything to the nation-building process, Amin accentuated the differences between the tribes existing within colonial boundaries, and hastened the disintegration of the Ugandan state.

Disastrous Economic Policies Mark Major Setback

In both the short and the long-term, Amin's economic policies influenced

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his hold on power and helped to seal his fate. They also worked against the process of nation-building by highlighting differences rather than stressing the equality of all groups within the state.

Amin's mismanagement—or more literally, non-management—of the Ugandan economy led to a statement as early as December 1972, by Yoweri Museveni, that one aim of the exile opposition group, FRONASA, was "to salvage what remains of the economy and nurse it back to health."[30] As well as suffering like many other developing countries from adverse terms of trade within the framework of the international economic structure, Uganda's economic fate was worsened by Amin's disastrous policies.

In 1972, in a very popular move, Amin launched his "Economic War against Britain and Asians." Essentially, the expulsion of the Asians from Uganda left the country without its business class.[31] If this wholesale loss was not enough, Amin decided to bolster his position by distributing the expropriated assets among his supporters. Nubian and Kakwa soldiers and security men, as well as some West Nilotic civilians. were given cars, houses and shops. Ironically, Amin banned the military from engaging in commerce, while simultaneously increasing the likelihood of the practice. Amin failed to provide any of the recipients with training to run the business concerns efficiently. The result in many cases was a policy geared towards quick returns. The supply system in Uganda inevitably collapsed due to gross mismanagement. The retail trade collapsed also, Basic commodities disappeared from shops and were not to return. Items such as toothbrushes, pens, lightbulbs and matches became luxury goods which only those in positions of power and privilege could acquire. By the end of Amin's reign, they were not even available to those people. Traders were forced into establishing clientage relationships with officers and officials higher up on the ladder of the favoured in order to survive. The whole trading community smacked of maladministration, disorganization and corruption.

The Ugandan economy is heavily dependent on the export of primary products. Under Amin, the state monopolies associated with tea, coffee and cotton rapidly fell into decline. Not only did Amin's appointees lack the knowledge of production and marketing techniques needed for successful business, they were instructed to distribute earnings among those people permitted to hold foreign bank accounts—i.e. Amin and his chosen few.

In such circumstances, the black market flourished and smuggling became an activity that for many people was the only road to survival. Production figures of cash crops fell progressively, and this, added to massive losses due to smuggling, led to great deficits. By 1977, only 2600 tons out of an estimated 12,600 tons of coffee produced was officialy

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exported.[32] By 1976, cotton sales reached their lowest level since 1948, and the sales were down almost 20 per cent on the 1975 figure.[33] Peasants stopped growing cash crops as the remuneration was small and turned to subsistence crops instead in this inflation-ravaged economy.

Ironically, Amin might well have lost power in 1976, had it not been for a surprise rise in the price of coffee.[34] Uganda depended on Kenya as its lifeline to the coast and as its route for imports and exports. At the beginning of 1976, Amin claimed a portion of Kenyan territory which had formed part of Uganda before 1909. In retaliation, Kenya virtually closed the border, starving Uganda of essential supplies and an export route. A similar situation arose in the summer of that year. After the Entebbe raid,[35] Uganda accused Kenya of collusion with the Israelis, and of allowing the Americans and Israelis to use Kenya as a base for a planned invasion of Uganda. This was too much for Kenya to tolerate without a severe reaction. Again, the border was closed. Amin, facing mutiny at home, pleaded for an end to the economic blockade. Kenya eased restrictions in August. By then, some elements in the Army were even calling for Amin's resignation. It was only the massive injection of Russian weapons that enabled him to retain control over the situation and extend his reign of terror, pursuing now a policy of total liquidation of the opposition—real or imagined.

The border closures of 1976 resulted in a large stock-pile of coffee. Even in the months when the border was open, the stock-pile continued to grow due to the absence of coffee bags. By a strange quirk of fate, Uganda made a fat profit since the price of coffee rose by 350 per cent. Whereas in 1976 it was selling for $ 800 per ton, in 1977 the selling price had risen to $ 2,800 a ton.[36]

Although this price rise was sufficient to give Amin a temporary respite, it could do very little for an economy that was in such bad shape that imports had to be paid for before other states agreed to ship them. Moreover, the reprieve for Amin himself was very short-lived. For the problems of decreasing production and increasing smuggling were capped in 1978 by the United State's decision not to buy Ugandan coffee. This policy was part of the sanction on trade with Uganda imposed by the Carter Administration as a result of Amin's poor record in the field of human rights. In one stroke, then, Uganda lost one-third of its coffee market.

In a speech marking the anniversary of the "Economic War", in August 1977, Amin declared: "...I am the saviour of the people of Uganda. Without me, Uganda would have remained in economic slavery."[37] This is a surprising comment, given the economic situation. Certainly, many peasants had turned to a self-reliant system of subsistence production; but the Ugandan economy as a whole was far from

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being self-reliant. The economy was totally chaotic; it was simply not functioning. Uganda's main ally, Russia, did much to expand the armoury of modern weapons, but nothing to help stimulate the growth of the national economy. Similarly, its friends in the Arab World, though the object of much rhetoric, gave the economy little tangible aid. Saudi Arabia provided 5 m pounds sterling to the Muslim Supreme Council for the building of a new Mosque;[38] Abu Dhabi and the Arab Bank for the Economic Development of Africa gave the same amount for the development of textiles. fisheries and poultry projects.[39] Much of the money donated did not even reach the projects for which it was intended, but was channelled into the military machine in the forms of weapons and privileges. Some of it probably even found its way to Britain to pay for the purchases collected on the infamous Stanstead "Whiskey-run." With the alcohol, cigarettes and other luxury items gathered there, Amin attempted to maintain the loyalty of senior officers.

Uganda's so-called "Economic War" was a failure; indeed it never stood any real chance of success. The hollow calls for "double production" were devoid of any mechanisms for achievement. Moreover, the "war" was never expounded with the real purpose of economic development. As Wanume Kibedi charged in his "Open Letter to Amin", appended to the *ICJ Report on Human Rights in Uganda*, May 1979, it

> ...was not to reform the economic system so as to bring the benefits of the national economy to the people as a whole, but merely to transfer to the individual Ugandans (and to other foreigners favoured by yourself) the extensive wealth formerly owned by those expelled....Your ethnic kith and kin have done extremely well out of the allocations of the businesses and other assets left behind by the expellees.[40]

In actuality, the "Economic War" was not an economic policy at all, but rather a piece of political propaganda. It did much to worsen the physical and mental well-being of Ugandans generally. It did much, also, to increase the perpetration of violence, crime and corruption and to frustrate the process of creating a single nation.

Not just in 1979, but well before that year, Amin had systematically turned Uganda into a material and spiritual wasteland. That wasteland was ruled by fear—fear of the gun, by which a perverse order was entrenched with impunity.

II
REACTIONS TO THE CRISIS

The Tanzanian Reaction

Protected by the sacred nature of sovereignty, domestic jurisdiction

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and the non-intervention rule, Amin was able to pursue his mindless policies with little sanction from the international community. Even towards the end of his hold on power, when international eriticism of his violations of human rights was increasing, concerted action against him by international organizations, states, opposition groups and individuals was lacking, There was no concerted effort to ostracise the regime diplomatically, let along economically. No real action was taken, with the exception of a few tardy limitations on trade and aid (such as the US coffee embargo), to alleviate human suffering in Uganda, or effectively censure Amin. Some governments, whose own human rights records were far from satisfactory, clung to the non-intervention norm through fear of coming under attack themselves at a later date, should any precedent be set. Other governments felt the principle should be adhered to because of its immense importance for maintaining order in the international political system. Some states, of course, were involved with the Amin regime and self-interestedly wanted human rights issues to be pushed aside. Many states, including the major Western and Eastern powers, the Muslim Arab states, certain African states and Israel, had been deeply involved with the Amin regime at various times and helped sustain it in power. Others were merely apathetic. States and inter-state organizations were not alone in their failure to take a united, effective stand: the same complaint can be made against the numerous exile groups, which seemed unable to adopt a unified position. They ranged across a wide ideological spectrum and represented numerous interest groups and sections of Ugandan society. Most of the criticism of the Ugandan regime was made by individuals (both Ugandans and non-Ugandans), and by non-state international organizations such as *Amnesty International*

During the 1970's, Nyerere stood almost alone in his condemnation of the Amin regime. His motivation was twofold: self-interest in weakening the cause of a troublesome neighbour state which threatened Tanzania's physical integrity and general national security; and a humanitarian impulse, which found the brutality of the Amin regime repugnant.

When Amin seized power in January 1971, it was a foregone conclusion that Tanzanian relations with Uganda would be far from cordial. For not only was Nyerere vehemently opposed to military *coups* in Africa, but he was also an ardent supporter and friend of Obote. He saw Obote not only as the legitimate, democratically elected ruler of Uganda, but as a fellow socialist leader and important ideological ally on the revolutionary axis of Africa. Obote's "Common Man's Charter" was the Uganda equivalent of Nyerere's "Arusha Declaration." The blow of Obote's downfall was made even more bitter to Nyerere by the

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fact that Obote had been overthrown while advocating a strongly anti-imperialist and anti-racialist stance at the Commonwealth Conference in Singapore. These two policies were close to Nyerere's own heart. The relationship between Amin's Uganda and Nyerere's Tanzania was thus marked by an underlying hostility, aggravated on the Ugandan side by the unsuccessful invasion by Ugandan exiles, launched from Tanzanian soil in 1972. Amin on several occasions accused Tanzania of invading Ugandan territory, but Somalian and Ethiopian mediators were unable to substantiate the claims In July 1975, Tanzania launched a scathing attack on the Amin regime when it boycotted the Organization for African Unity's (OAU) summit in Kampala. Nyerere believed that the horrors perpetrated by the Amin regime threw shame on all of Africa. He wanted an equitable application of the principles of justice, and he also wanted the OAU to stand up for this, but that organization condemned atrocities only when they were committed by white regimes. Nyerere deplored the practice of applying absolute rules in international relations which, while they advanced the cause of order between states, ignored the cause of justice. He felt it was the responsibility of the international community not to allow the domestic jurisdiction principle to be used as a legitimate pretext for a ruler to commit the most heinous of crimes. The Tanzanian Government statement, explaining why Tanzania was staying away from the summit, asked:

> Why is it legitimate to call for the isolation of South Africa because of its oppression, but illegitimate to refuse cooperation with a country like Uganda where the government survives because of the ruthlessness with which it kills suspected critics ?
>
> Tanzania cannot accept the mockery of condemning colonialism, apartheid and fascism in the headquarters of a murderer, an oppressor, a black fascist and a self-confessed admirer of fascism.[41]

Nyerere pursued this theme throughout the remainder of Amin's hold on power. While the Kampala Summit was boycotted by the Governments of Zambia, Botswana, Tanzania and Mozambique, the preponderance of OAU member states which attended made it a success for Amin. Many, of course, shied away from criticizing his domestic policies since they themselves were guilty of human rights violations.

When Amin sent an invasion force into the Tanzanian Kagera Salient in October 1978, in hot pursuit of disloyal Ugandan troops, he got more than he had bargained for. Nyerere was doubly incensed : firstly, at the accusations issuing from Uganda that, "Tanzanian forces had invaded Uganda;" and secondly, at Amin's invasion and annexation of the Kagera Salient on the pretext of self-defence and the restoration of

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Uganda's 'rightful' boundary to the old colonial division between German and British spheres of influence. Amin's action provided an unprecedented opportunity for external powers to condemn him. For at last he had undeniably crossed the legalistic barrier between internal and external affairs.

Amin claimed to be responding to an attack launched by Tanzania, but few reports support this story. Rather, it appears that this excuse was put forward as a smokescreen to cover up the true facts, i. e., that elements in the Ugandan Army had mutinied. It has emerged that the mutiny began in early October, and involved the Malire Mechanized Regiment based at Bombo. Disaffection among the rank and file about delays in pay and poor conditions, and among officers who saw Amin's power base weakening and feared the consequences, meant that the time was propitious and the ground fertile for rebellion. The mutiny spread to include several barracks—Mutukula, Tororo, Masaka and Mbarara, but was crushed by loyal troops. It appears that over 200 disaffected troops fled across the Tanzanian border into the Kagera Salient Loyal members of the Masaka Suicide Battalion and the Mbarara Simba Battalion followed in hot pursuit the fleeing mutineers

To divert attention from the erosion of his power base and troubles within the Army, Amin ordered a full-scale invasion and occupation by these battalions. The Ugandan troops wrecked havoc in the Tanzanian territory, and ten thousand people were left unaccounted for.

Even though the dispute was an African one, African states on the whole had very little to say on the matter, other than to call for a peaceful settlement in accordance with the dictates of the OAU. Nyerere wanted an outright condemnation of the Ugandan invasion and preferably some positive action by African states. This was not forthcoming.

Nyerere was perplexed by this reaction. After all, a fundamental tenet enshrined in the OAU Charter was that boundaries should not be changed by unilateral action, and this had been violated. The OAU had never condemned a black African, nor an Arab state, whatever the atrocities that had been committed, and it was not prepared to set a precedent now. Nyerere, exasperated, stated the problem as he saw it : "How do you mediate between somebody who breaks into your house and the victim of the assault ?"[42] As far as he was concerned, Uganda had committed a crime and should be censured.

Nyerere appeared to have something else in mind other than a withdrawal of Ugandan troops. As early as 6 November the *Daily News* had suggested that the Ugandan invasion of Tanzania "must be the last of Amin's mad actions." The editorial comment continued :

> Up until last Monday, the people of this country were willing to suffer the idiot as a neighbour whose utterances and actions were detested, but

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whose fate would be decided by the people of Uganda. That he has ordered his troops to kill our people and occupy part of our territory makes it necessary for us to deal with him in a manner that will put an end to this sad story.[43]

It seems that the way was being prepared for some kind of punitive action against Amin. Indeed, Nyerere gave forewarning of such action when he declared that any state that had failed to distinguish between right and wrong in the case of "Idi Amin's naked, blatant, and bragging aggression against Tanzania,"[44] had forfeited any right they might otherwise have had to pass judgement on Tanzanian efforts to expel the aggressor.

On 17 November, Nyerere announced that the withdrawal of Ugandan troops was no longer the central issue. The issue was how the invasion should be avenged. He told a Nigerian official, that efforts to mediate were pointless.

Our duty is to push the aggressor out of our country. But that is no longer the problem. The problem is, what next ? Is Africa asking Tanzania to pay for those massacres and wanton destruction of property ?[45]

On 19 November, Dar-es-Salaam Radio announced that the war with Uganda would be protracted. It described Amin as a cancer that had to be destroyed.[46] The Tanzanian official press used similar terminology. The weekly *Sunday News* announced that,

Tanzanians owe it to themselves, the OAU and the rest of peace-loving mankind to end once and for all Amin's eccentricities which have culminated in mass murders, and untold human suffering both within Uganda and in Tanzania.[47]

Nationalism and anti-Amin sentiments were definitely on the increase in Tanzania, and had been encouraged by official announcements and statements in the press and on the radio. Moreover, with the retreat of Ugandan troops, more detailed accounts of the ravaging of land and property and of atrocities committed against Tanzanians came to light, and these angered Tanzanians. Also, the attempt to repel the invaders had become a national effort, with the People's Militia being mobilized for action and buses and other vehicles being commissioned for the transportation of troops and equipment across the country. Edwin Mtei, the Finance Minister, had imposed higher taxes on a wide range of goods to help pay for the military operation against Uganda.[48] The whole nation, therefore, already seemed to be involved in the war effort. What is more, the army must have bristled for a chance to recover its diminished prestige.

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In retrospect it is evident that Nyerere's intentions were spelled out well in advance. He reiterated again and again that Tanzania harboured no claim to an inch of Ugandan territory; that it had not done so in the past, nor would it in the future.[49] Moreover, it was made clear that Tanzania's argument was with Amin and his henchmen and not with the people of Uganda. The *Daily News* claimed on 28 November that,

> We consider all Ugandan workers and peasants to be our brothers oppressed by a war-mongering dictatorship that is causing them more difficulties in its military adventurism.[50]

Tanzanian efforts, therefore, would clearly not be aimed at extending Tanzanian territory, nor at punishing the Ugandan population. The effort would be directed towards removing those who held power in Uganda.

The Tanzanian strategy became clear. It was twofold : firstly to pursue and punish the guilty Suicide and Simba Battalions so that they could not threaten or harm Tanzania again; and secondly, to aid and abet the toppling of Amin from power by exile forces and internal opposition which, it was probably believed, would simultaneously uprise.

Nyerere wanted to remove Amin, not only because he threatened Tanzania, but also because the Ugandan population was oppressed by its own ruler To ignore the latter fact was incompatible in Nyerere's eyes with a firm stand against the injustice of the minority regimes. He was critical of OAU policies and justified Tanzanian action. In effect this added a whole new dimension to the conflict. Justification for whatever action Tanzania might take lay beyond the realms of self-defence, even of punishment, and in some way lay within the domain of humanitarian action. The December visit by the OAU Chairman, Numeiry, to Uganda and Tanzania to press for mediation, was fruitless in this context.

On 11 January 1979, Obote broke eight years of political silence inside Tanzania to broadcast a 15 page statement on the Ugandan situation. After listing the devastation of Uganda's population and material wealth by Amin, Obote commented, "There is only one answer. It is Uganda-wide rebellion."[51] Obote rejected Amin's claims that Nyerere was merely trying to reinstate him, and stressed that Ugandans must liberate themselves :

> The main force must be organized from within.....start and expand a nationwide cell organization. Start cautiously but do not relax the effort.[52]

It later transpired that before Obote delivered his message a secret meeting had taken place at the instigation of Tanzania. This involved

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various opposition exile groups. (Indeed, as far back as October 1978, Obote had been recalled from a vacation in Zambia to discuss and plan with Nyerere). Since Nyerere did not wish blatantly to violate the OAU Charter, and hence be charged with the very crime which he himself accused Amin of perpetrating, it made sense for him to encourage the organization of exile opposition forces. Moreover, from a moral point of view, he believed that a people had the right to throw off a government which did not seem to be acting in their best interests.

Organizing the opposition groups, however, was no easy task. For there were several organizations and individuals in exile in East Africa, Europe and North America, representing conflicting interests. In Tanzania, about 900 Obote-supporters made their living as farmers and charcoal-sellers following the defeat of their invasion attempt in 1972. Tanzania now handed out equipment and uniforms to them, and gave them weapon-training. Colonel David Oyite-Ojok, and Colonel Tito Okello, who had both been involved in the 1972 campaign, assumed military command of these men, and later, of the whole exile force.

FRONASA, a left-wing group but not pro-Obote, led by Yoweri Museveni, willingly united with the Obote forces in the struggle against Amin, in the hope of bringing democratic elections to Uganda. The group was formed in 1972, and had slowly expanded using first Kenya and then Tanzania as its base.

The Save Uganda Movement (SUM) was based in Nairobi. The Movement was as much anti-Obote as it was anti-Amin. Although small in number, it drew together people from many tribes. It had managed to infiltrate some sectors of the Ugandan Army and had been responsible for several acts of sabotage in recent years. This tactic was to be its main contribution to the 1979 campaign, wrecking havoc in Kampala and Jinja by disrupting power and water supplies.

The Ugandan Nationalist Organization was also based in Nairobi. The one thing it had in common with SUM was its opposition to Obote for the UNO drew its membership largely from the Baganda tribe who were committed to the restoration of the *Kabakaship*. Baganda was one of four Kingdoms safeguarded under the Constitution, left by the British but abolished by Obote. Feelings of resentment against the storming of the Kabaka's palace in 1966 and his enforced exile, still ran high. It was Obote who had authorized this action, and it was Amin who had carried it out by force of arms in his position as leader of the Ugandan Armed Forces.

It is not surprising then that the opposition to Amin had been so slow to unite. It ranged across the ideological spectrum from left-wing activities to right-wing conservative monarchists. The groups and people had one thing in common—their hatred of Amin and their desire to rid

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Uganda of him. While several groups united under the banner of the Uganda National Liberation Front (UNLF), and trained under Tanzanian direction, the SUM, an affiliated member of the Front, stepped up its sabotage campaign in January 1979 inside Uganda.

Nyerere was anxious to offset in advance any condemnation of Tanzanian involvement in Uganda. He was eager to set the record straight about just what Tanzanian forces were doing there. He said :

> Despite my dislike for Amin—and I really do not like him—the Government of Tanzania has no right to enter Uganda in order to topple Amin....No other government in Africa or anywhere else in the world has the right to overthrow Amin's regime...But Amin's regime is a brutal one, and the people of Uganda have that right. All people all over the world have the right to topple regimes they detest.... Recently Iran did likewise...and I congratulate them for this...[53]

Nyerere also claimed that two wars were being fought in Uganda : one between Tanzanian and Ugandan soldiers for the defence of Tanzanian territory and as a punitive measure by Tanzania for the atrocities committed against the inhabitants of the Kagera Salient; and another between the people of Uganda, including exile forces and Amin and his supporters. This clear-cut view of the situation oversimplified the reality. Such a dividing line between two wars was really impossible to draw; for action taken against Amin's Army amounted to action taken against Amin and his regime. Tanzanian forces, Nyerere's definitions aside, were helping to topple Amin. They made the job of Amin's opponents far easier than it would otherwise have been. The pattern of fighting produced gradual gains : exile forces moved forward, supported from behind by Tanzanian artillery and aircraft. Tanzanian forces held down captured territory as Ugandan fighters pressed forward, engaging with Amin's supporters.

How long Nyerere would be able to cling to the "disciplined legalistic position"[51] was a question of circumstance. While at the outset his moral and legal reasons for not directly toppling the regime were supported by Tanzanian strategists (many of whom believed that a big Tanzanian push into Uganda might result in a prolongation of the Amin regime due to an influx of aid from Russia and some Arab countries as a counter-response to Tanzanian involvement), by late February it became evident that without more help in the form of direct Tanzanian participation, Amin was not going to be toppled in the foreseeable future. The initial Tanzanian plan of penetrating up the Masaka and Mbarara barracks had to be modified.

Several factors influenced this decision. Firstly Libyan support for Amin had been vastly expanded in the early months of 1979. Libyan

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troops and supplies were playing a very significant role in shoring up the Amin regime. Secondly, although many people were in revolt inside Uganda, there was little concerted action. Moreover, Amin's terror squads were running amok amongst the civilian population, especially amongst the Lango. Also, where mutinies occurred among Amin's own soldiers, they were not always successful. At Tororo, for example mutineers suffered a heavy defeat when the barracks were retaken by forces loyal to Amin. Timing was a major problem due to the lack of communications and information flowing between exile groups and local insurgents. The inability of the anti-Amin forces to take Jinja and Entebbe early on (which would have cut off supplies to Amin's main supporters) meant that the much hoped-for and expected internal collapse of his forces did not eventuate. Thirdly, the use by the Ugandan Army of Russian 122 mm artillery, which has an effective range of around 25 miles, posed troublesome logistical and technical problems for the advancing anti-Amin columns moving towards Kampala, Entebbe and Jinja.

Since independent observers were never allowed in by either side to verify the situation, it is impossible to state anything definitively here. However, it appears that Tanzania became involved in consolidating the liberated zone in Southern Uganda (including Mbarara and Masaka, taken in February). Tanzanian soldiers set to work on the task of establishing a Ugandan People's Militia within that Zone, with a view to involving it in the liberation of Kampala at some future date. Two columns of exiles were moving in on Kampala from different directions during March. The Tanzanian role in this advance appears to have been that of an advance guard, clearing the road to Kampala with the intention of stepping down to allow exiles and the newly-established Ugandan People's Militia to take the capital.

The assault on Kampala however, was not as straightforward as had been anticipated, and at one point the exiles were even forced into a "tactical retreat." The situation was made worse for them because Kenya still refused to cut off oil supplies to Amin, claiming that under the law on land-locked countries it would be illegal for it to do so. Kenya was by no means the only external power which had a hand in propping up Amin. Arab bankers, meeting in Kampala in March, gave Amin a $ 4 million emergeney loan which helped him pay for the oil which three British companies were supplying to him.

At the end of March, the crisis took a turn for the worse as other states seemed ready to get embroiled in the problem. Libya sent Nyerere an ultimatum, telling him to withdraw Tanzanian troops from Uganda within one day—a physical impossibility—or Libya would consider itself to be at war with Tanzania. Libya's firm commitment to

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Amin was motivated by the desire to help an anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist leader of a Muslim state. This perception of Amin and Uganda was not entirely accurate, however. For Amin's anti-imperialism and his stand against Israel had no sound ideological foundation. Both the West and Israel had been friends of his when he captured power. Moreover, Quaddafi's perception of Uganda as a Muslim country was far from the truth : at the last census, five per cent of the population had registered as Muslims. Even though Amin had offered financial inducements to converts, there had been no massive conversion to Islam.

Nevertheless, Nyerere stood firm in the face of the Libyan threat. He remained resolute regarding his perception of Idi Amin. By the end of March, the only pro-Amin forces remaining in Kampala were a group of about 200 Libyans and Palestinians. The surrounding Uganda National Liberation Forces had left an escape route open from Kampala for the pro-Amin troops—the road to Jinja. Nyerere had told Quaddafi that a way would be left open for Libyan troops to escape The few remaining Sudanese and Nubian troops fighting for Amin, also fled. No doubt Nyerere wanted to avoid a bloodbath both for moral and for publicity reasons. However, the actual route left open gave him some political mileage against Kenya; for the retreating forces would have to flee Uganda *via* Kenya, thus implicating the latter further in the defence of Amin.

On 10 April, Kampala finally fell before the onslaught of Tanzanian troops and exile forces. In the last resort, Nyerere had allowed Tanzanian troops to take part in the battle for Kampala—something he had always maintained was a job for Ugandans alone. By the time victory was won, the city was almost a ghost-town. A few pockets of Arab resistance posed some minor problems for a few days, but were soon flushed out by the Tanzanian troops which patrolled the streets trying to maintain some kind of order amidst rampant looting. The task of the Tanzanians was not yet over : after consolidating the Kampala region, they were responsible for mopping-up operations in the West Nile area where Amin had fled with some supporters, either in the hope of making a last stand in his home region or of fleeing into Sudan.

Getting rid of Amin was only the first stage of a prolonged process. If Tanzania wanted to avoid being called an expansionist power (a charge levelled at Amin by the Front Line States in their Luanda meeting in early March), then Amin would have to be replaced by a more representative government. Consequently, a conference was convened in Moshi, under Tanzanian auspices, from 23-25 March. (Tanzania also drew up the list of invitees.) Representatives of all the main exile organizations were invited to attend, as well as several prominent exiled individuals.

Bringing together such a diverse group of people and interests with the

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aim of producing a unified front was an unenviable task. In-fighting disrupted the conferenee and weakened its credibility from the outset. Around 130 people who had travelled to Moshi for the meeting—including some who had been officially invited—were excluded, and hence were unable to participate in the discussions and decision-making. Obote's UPC party withdrew temporarily, and Obote himself did not attend.

Anxious that Tanzanian forces should be seen as liberators and not as oppressors, and that Tanzania should not be regarded as an aggressor, Ben Mkapa reiterated Tanzania's intention at the Moshi Conference. Tanzania stood by its inherited borders; it was concerned only with its own security and sovereignty; and it respected the principle of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other countries.

> It is our hope that this meeting will establish a consensus of all the different groups of Ugandan opinion. The Tanzanian Government and people will then cooperate to the full on matters of mutual interest in accordance with the decisions made at the meeting.[55]

It was important for Tanzania that it be not seen to be installing a puppet government, or forwarding someone of its own choice such as Obote. The conference elected a Consultative Council of 29 members and an Executive Council of 11. The function of these bodies was to run Uganda for two years before a democratic election would take place. Yusuf Lule, an academic who had not been involved in politics before, was elected as Head of the Executive Council. On 11 April, he was installed in Kampala as Head of the new Government of National Unity.

OAU's Tacit Approval of the Tanzanian Action

Tanzania's action represented a violation of conventional norms governing behaviour in the international system. In the African context it was of great significance for the precedent it set on a continent whose geographical and ethnic divisions had hitherto rendered such a violation totally unacceptable. Yet the 16th OAU Summit at Monrovia, in July 1979, witnessed a debate on the affair in which most African states remained silent, thereby indicating a tacit approval of Tanzanian action. Only a few states—notably Sudan and Nigeria—vehemently condemned the action.

Nyerere was concerned with larger questions than that of acting within the limits set down by the OAU Charter and traditional international law; he wanted the Charter changed. In the previous year—December—he had publicly called for a revision of the OAU Charter because he believed that in its present form, it spoke only for African peoples still under colonial or racial domination. Disparagingly he had declared that once countries emerged to independent nationhood, the OAU served simply as a trade union for Heads of State, rather than protecting indi-

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viduals. While he did not make an official defence of Tanzania at the Summit (although he did criticise Numeiry for wanting to "see in the dock not the aggressor but the victim."[56] Nyerere did circulate a statement to the Heads of State assembled in Monrovia, outlining Tanzania's case against Amin and the attempted annexation of the Kagera Salient. In this report, he restated that,

> The war between Tanzania and Idi Amin's regime in Uganda was caused by the Ugandan Army's aggression against Tanzania and Idi Amin's claim to have annexed part of Tanzanian territory. There was no other cause for it.[57]

Self-defence was thus the main justification for Tanzanian action. However, he detailed many of Amin's alleged atrocities.

> For eight years, killings on a tribal basis were parallelled by the killing of educated people, of anyone thought to be a potential danger to his power, of anyone who had property—even a good pair of shoes—that was wanted by his henchmen.[58]

This report, therefore, followed the pattern of statements issued before the fall of Kampala. Although pointing to self-defence and/or punitive action, underlying this was the idea of humanitarian intervention. The Nigerian Head of State, General Obasanjo, accused Tanzania of setting a "dangerous precedent" by toppling Amin,[59] and also of having started the conflict. He declared that :

> Security may be endangered by this act, for the weaker and small nations of Africa will have to look over their shoulders at their powerful neighbours whenever they have to act.[60]

It ought to be stated here that this claim threw a false light on the Tanzanian action. For small states everywhere always have to look over their shoulders at their powerful neighbours. It is the nature of state behaviour. Yet the Tanzanian case is hardly an example of this. Tanzania was in no way militarily superior to Uganda. What Tanzania possessed, however, was a relatively united population and a government that spoke for a significant number of the people. On reading Nigeria's condemnation of Tanzania, one cannot help but think that country still bore Tanzania a grudge over the latter's support of Biafra.

In response to these criticisms of Tanzania, President Godfrey Binaisa of Uganda undertook a defence of the Tanzanian action. He referred to Amin as "a primitive fascist with an insatiable desire for the blood of his victims,"[61] and praised Tanzania's intervention. He suggested that African leaders should speak out in defence of human rights on the con-

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tinent. This was the exact argument used by Nyerere and Ugandan exiles during Amin's reign. It referred to the "double-standard" approach whereby black leaders could oppress their populations with no fear of redress, while white rulers were attacked for lesser violations. Binaisa also denounced the violations of human rights in the Central African Empire and Equatorial Guinea.

The Wider Response

The new Lule Government was recognised very quickly in many quarters.[62] This was almost a a tacit approval of Tanzanian action. Britain made one million pounds sterling available to Lule almost immediately and Sweden donated three million Kroners in disaster aid. The United States, which had placed sanctions on trade with Amin because of human rights violations, moved to resume normal diplomatic ties and trade. Press comments in the west supported the Tanzanian action, but generally warned that the example should be regarded as an exception to the still sacrosanct rule of non-intervention. On 16 April 1979, *The New York Times*, for instance, cautioned that :

> ...what has been done this time in a good cause with considerable provocation, might as easily be done by others in different circumstances.

The fear of opening a pandora's box was never far from the lips of those who offered words of applause to Tanzania Indeed, the latter were few and far between.

For some states, the act of recognizing the new Lule regime was difficult because they had already refused to recognise the Heng Samrin regime in Kampuchea so long as Vietnamese forces remained there. India was placed in this predicament.[63] How could it now recognise the new Ugandan Government and help legitimise it while Tanzanian troops were still in Uganda ? The Indian Press pushed for an early recognition of Lule's Government on the grounds that the affair was a regional issue. Since most of Africa had not spoken out against the way Tanzanians helped bring about a change of regime, the problem was different to that posed by the Vietnamese actions in Kampuchea, where most of Asia condemned the Vietnamese role. What is more, the Kampuchean case was part of a far wider confrontation between stronger powers, involving China and indirectly, Russia.

Tanzania seemed to emerge from the Ugandan affair with a diminished reputation; for whereas states that were pleased with the regime-change in Uganda welcomed in the new Lule Government, they were muted in their praise of Tanzania's role in bringing it about because of their respect for the non-intervention principle. At the same time countries that were displeased with Tanzania were vociferous in their attacks. The Arab

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caucus was unhappy at the toppling of a Muslim brother, even if he had become an embarrassment to them while in power. At the Islamic Conference in Fez, Saudi Arabia attacked Tanzania's invasion of Uganda. *Le Monde* reported that Prince Saud denounced :

> l' invasion de l' ouganda, pays membre de l' organisation de la conference islamique, par un pays voisin, ce qui est contraire a la charte des nations unies et d' organisation islamique.[64]

When all is said and done, support from the international community for Tanzania had to be muted, because a fundamental pillar of order in international society had been flouted. That pillar was still recognised by the majority of states as being vital to the smooth and orderly functioning of international relations. In an apt comment, *The Financial Times* reported on 12 April 1979 that : "The real reason why Africa has condoned Tanzania's action is the nature of President Amin's regime." The belief in the inviolability of state frontiers was still held. Moreover, although the OAU had repeatedly called for mediation during the conflict, the United Nations had almost issued an approval of Tanzania's action. For, when Amin requested an immediate meeting of the UN Security Council in February, bypassing his own UN mission, his pleas fell on deaf ears. He had cabled Waldheim directly, urging him to deal with the "serious and explosive situation now prevailing on the border."[65] The President of the Security Council for February, Abdullah Bishara of Kuwait, replied that neither he nor Waldheim considered the message to be a properly worded request. Bishara complained that the tone of the cable suggested that Amin wanted to place the onus on the United Nations. Such a response would hardly have been issued to a party considered to be suffering grave injury in a dispute. This is made all the more significant since the charge levelled at Tanzania was that it had blatantly ignored a fundamental tenet on which the United Nations was built—that of non-intervention. The enormity of Amin's crimes shocked the world and awakened the conscience of many states that impelled them to turn a blind eye to the violation.

It would be naive to assume that international opinion would respond in a muted fashion, characterized by tacit approval, in all cases where a neighbouring government removes from power a leader or a regime responsible for gross human rights violations. International reaction to the Vietnamese invasion and subsequent overthrow of Pol Pot in Kàmpuchea was not met with widespread approval. Neither, for that matter, was Indian intervention in East Pakistan, leading to the creation of Bangladesh. Yet in both countries, gross human rights violations had been perpetrated by the governments in power. There are several reasons why

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Tanzanian action was more acceptable than similar action in other areas. Firstly, the region was of no great strategic importance to any of the world's major powers. Secondly, the conflict was clearly not part of a broader hostility. Thirdly, Tanzania could not be regarded as the dominant and powerful predatory neighbour. Ranking as one of Africa's poorest states, it certainly had no aspirations to greatness or expansionary desires. A moral impetus was obviously ranking significantly among Tanzania's motives, and this was clear to the rest of the world.

As the months passed by, however, questions were raised about the role of Tanzania inside Uganda *after* the fall of Amin. Its troops were still there in force.[66] At the Commonwealth Conference in Lusaka, in August, Britain and Kenya voiced fears that Tanzania was now playing too big a role in determining the course of Ugandan political life.

Concerning the continued presence of Tanzanian troops in Uganda, the record needs to be set straight. Without the presence of that force (or of another, which the world community did not seem eager to provide), the Ugandan state had no chance of returning to any kind of normalcy. The police force had been decimated by Amin; the exile forces were small in number, had little training and represented divergent interests. There was no security system operating in a country that was renowned for its *kondoism* all over East Africa. Moreover, remnants of Amin's forces still roamed over the country. Without the Tanzanian presence, the chaos would merely have increased. It is unfortunate for the reputation of Tanzania that its forces could not immediately withdraw; but since there was no sign of an OAU or a Commonwealth force, or any other multinational replacement, there was really no choice in the matter for either Uganda or Tanzania.

It is difficult to represent the continued presence of Tanzanian troops in Uganda as a case of aggrandisement or imperialism. The cost to Tanzania of keeping such a force in Uganda was enormous—some estimates quote 500,000 pounds sterling per day."[67] Not only did Tanzania have to bear this burden, and the continued disruption of agricultural and industrial production which it entailed, but also it was encumbent upon it to undertake the training of the new Ugandan Police and Army. Tanzania could hardly be said to be making a material or intangible profit out of this. Even if it was true that the new Ugandan Government would be beholden to Tanzania, unless a truly puppet regime was installed against the background of a continuing presence of superior forces, the strength of such a tie would be highly questionable. Had Nyerere wanted to instal a puppet regime, there was little to stop him installing Obote from the outset.

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III
CONCLUSIONS

The nation-building process is a vital factor in enhancing the security of new states. Without successful nation-building, such states are threatened with disintegration, as competing units, be they ethnic, religious or racial, compete for control of the reins of government. Stronger powers, often but always great powers, have frequently taken advantage of such divergences within the boundaries of a single state to further their own interests by promoting a particular group within the state. Centrifugal tendencies threaten the existenee of many new states, and *irredentism* and sucession plague the politics of the developing world. Uganda provides us with a glaring example of the damage done both to people and the state when those in power are more concerned with feathering their own nest in the name of national state security rather than working at transferring loyalty away from smaller socio-political units to the state. Amin and Obote before him, used institutions like the military and the police to promote particularist ethnic interests; and those very institutions have the protection and promotion of state interests as a prime task. The degeneration into anarchy in Uganda in the 1970's, coupled with Amin's threatening behaviour towards Tanzania which culminated in the invasion of the Kagera Salient, resulted in the Tanzanian intervention in Uganda. While that action certainly removed Ugandan troops from Tanzanian territory, its effect on curbing the spiralling anarchy is less easy to ascertain. Has the Tanzanian intervention in Uganda contributed towards the establishment of a more unified Ugandan state ? Has progress been made in nation-building ?

The history of Uganda since the Tanzanian intervention has not been a particularly promising one. The Uganda National Liberation Front, established at the Moshi Conference, represented diverse interests and infighting was inevitable even though it had been established in the name of unity and in the cause of democracy. Both the conference and the tone of post-intervention politics revealed that the traditional parties and divisions remained, and the basic political division was along pro-and anti-Obote lines.

The first new President of Uganda, Yusuf Lule, a Muganda Muslim, led a broad coalition which included Obote supporters even though Lule himself was highly critical of Obote for having upset the cause of democracy in Uganda by cancelling the 1967 election, and introducing a state of emergency. Lule represented traditional, conservative Baganda interests. After two months, Lule was ousted when the Consultative Council passed a no-confidence motion against him. He was replaced by Godfrey Binaisa, also a Muganda. Binaisa supported Obote's old party, the UPC,

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but not Obote himself. He lasted just over a year in office, and was then deposed by the UNLF Military Commission. He had made enemies of two of its leading members : Brigadier Oyite Ojok, Head of the Commission, was a keen Obote supporter, and with the approach of elections Binaisa had thrown in his lot with anti-Obote elements in the UPC and UNLF; secondly, he had alienated Yoweri Museveni, the second in command,by demoting him.

Such internal divisions could have been forseen; yet they were not and their presence made the Tanzanian position inside Uganda very uncomfortable. Different factions looked to Nyerere for help, support and legitimacy. He became a scapegoat for those who wanted an external reason for why particular interests were being furthered at the expense of others. He feared that the credibility of the whole Tanzanian operation might be undermined if fighting broke out between different factions in the UNLF Army, where forces loyal to Museveni and Ojoke were bitterly opposed. It seemed that Ugandans could not sustain enough unity to put their own house in order even when Tanzania had given them the chance. The unity it took to oust Amin had been based on the same sort of feelings as the unity witnessed in colonies as they struggled for independence. Once the oppressor is removed, underlying differences, subjugated for the time being, resurface with greater force as the political stakes become higher in the domestic power competition.

In December 1980, Obote was brought back to power in a general election, but given the general lawlessness and uncertainty in Uganda and the failure of certain groups to accept the legitimacy of the outcome, the prospect for nation-building did not look too bright. Over the past five years, Uganda has been characterised by continued violence both by opposition groups such as Museveni's National Resistance Army, and the government force in the UNLF. The country seems to have made economic progress over this period, but in other areas its record is not very different to that of Idi Amin's. An *Amnesty International* Report of 1982 was highly critical of the government, stating that even where the government did not authorise the violence of its army, its failure to act against those perpetrating it meant it condoned such activities and this was equal to complicity. Two years later, Obote suspended a military aid programme with the USA in protest against the latter's allegations of massive human rights violations. US officials claimed that between one and two hundred thousand people had been killed over the past three years and international relief organisations were in agreement on this figure.

Given the anarchic state of Uganda on the overthrow of Amin, nobody could expect the transition to a stable nation-state to be made easily or swiftly. The continuation of violence in Uganda, and especially the

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lawless behaviour of the military who seemed to have no conception of their role as guardians of the state and people of Uganda, has been particularly detrimental to the nation-building process. While the Tanzanian action provided Uganda with an opportunity to make progress on this front, the old political divisions of the elite rose to the fore once more and tribal-based loyalties ruled the day. If this old-style politics wins out, then Uganda can only hope to emerge as a single, unified state where the politics of repression in the name of security are no longer needed by the dominance of one tribal affiliation. In other words, the incorporation of all other groups into the culture of a dominant group (as happened in Nigeria with the failure of the Ibos to create their own state), will be a necessary prerequisite. However, if the old style politics is broken, as it may be if Museveni's forces continue to make great strides, perhaps the pattern will change and particularist ethnic politics may give way to more broadly-based ideological politics. Whichever way things go, the immediate outlook is bleak for nation-building. A military *coup* has removed Obote; the strength of Museveni's NRA is significant; and the government has failed to send representatives to Kenya for talks with the NRA Moreover, the present military rulers have recalled Amin's men from exile in Zaire and elsewhere and they are involving them in the struggle against the NRA. It seems that the situation has almost gone a full circle. The people of Uganda continue to suffer.

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> who has conducted, is conducting or is about to conduct himself so as to be dangerous to peace and good order in Uganda or any part thereof, or that he has acted, is acting or is about to act in a manner prejudicial to the defense or security of Uganda or any part thereof.

See G. S. Ibingira, *African Upheavals Since Independence* (Colorado, 1980), p. 162.

2 On 22 February 1966, Obote abrogated the Ugandan Constitution. In May, troops stormed the palace of the Kabaka of Uganda, maiming and murdering the Bagandans who lived in the vicinity. Obote claimed that this action was necessary to forestall attempts by Frederick Mutesa II to employ foreign troops to overthrow the government. Ibingira, n.1, believes that the real reason was Obote's desire to monopolise power in Uganda. The Baganda formed over one-sixth (2.5 million out of 11 million) of the Ugandan population, and Obote wanted to eliminate the threat posed by their loyalty to the Kabaka.

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16 *Africa Contemporary Record, 1976-77*, p. B353.
17 *The Observer*, 19 March 1978, and *The Guardian* (London), 20 March 1978.
18 *The Observer*, 30 April 1978.
19 *The Daily Telegraph* (London), 9 May 1978.
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21 *Africa Contemporary Record, 1973-74*, p. B289.
22 While this is true, the enormity of Amin's involvement must not be forgotten. He has much to answer for personally, such as The 1972 Decree No. 8, See *Africa Studies Review*, 1979, (Michigan), p. 132.

"Notwithstanding any written or other law no court shall make any decision, order or grant any remedy or relief in any proceedings against the government in respect of anything done or omitted to be done for the purpose of maintaining public order or public security in any part of Uganda for the defence of Uganda or the enforcement of discipline or law and order or in respect of anything relating to, consequent upon or incidental to any of these purposes, during the period between the 24th day of January 1971, and such date as the President shall appoint."
This decree amounted to the legislation of anarchy, and it was issued by Amin. It is on his shoulders that responsibility for it must fall.

23 See *Africa Report*, (New Brunswick), January-February 1978.
24 A comparison with Tanzania is helpful here. After the 1964 mutinies, Nyerere dismissed all those people involved. When Obote was faced with disquiet in the Army in the same year, he met most of the demands made.
25 Ali Mazrui, *Soldiers and Kinsmen in Uganda : The Making of A Military Ethnocracy*, 1975, p. 139.
26 Ibid., p. 127.
27 Ibid., p. 139.
28 Ibid., p. 252.
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31 The population of Uganda was over eleven million, of which the Asian community comprised about 70,000. The Asians controlled over 80 per cent of Uganda's commerce and trade. There was much resentment among the Africans towards this community of immigrants which made no attempt to integrate and controlled so much of the country's wealth.

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60 *Africa Research Bulletin*, p. 5329 A.
61 *Daily Telegraph* 20 July 1979.
62 For example, Britain recognised the new Lule Government on 15 April, just five days after it was established in Kampala. See *The Guardian*, 16 April 1979.
63 *The Hindu* (Madras), 19 April 1979.
64 *Le Monde* (Paris) 13, 14 May 1979
65 *International Herald Tribune*, 14 February 1979.
66 *New York Times*. 3 August 1979. Binaisa was quoted as saying that 12,000 Tanzanian troops had been withdrawn and 26,000 more would soon leave.
67 *Africa Contemporary Record, 1978-79*, p. B397.

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CHINA'S NEW POLICIES AND ITS RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES

By AMOS YODER*

China has made dramatic changes in its foreign and domestic policies in the past decade. Chairman Mao had hoped that with China's huge, hard-working population he could quickly force it forward to the rank of a super power. However, China's development lagged, and many observers blamed its slow progress on its disruptive economic and political policies, on rigid economic controls that discouraged production and modernization, and on population pressures.[1] *In the past six years Chinese leaders have instituted drastic new policies including strictly limiting population growth and allowing farm production, and to a limited extent industries, to benefit from market forces and relaxed controls. In the process they have opened the door to the outside and improved relations with the United States. By the end of the century China's new momentum may carry it a long way toward Mao's original goal of becoming a super power.*

NEW FOREIGN POLICY INITIATIVES

THE People's Republic of China has changed from being an active supporter of so-called wars of liberation to being a leading world spokesman against aggression. In 1950 Chairman Mao approved President Kim Il-Sung's plan to attack South Korea. When the tide of battle turned against North Korea, Mao sent hundreds of thousands of Chinese "volunteers" to save North Korea from complete defeat from the United Nations forces led by the United States.[2] This war set the stage for a confrontation between the United States and China that lasted over 20 years. Moreover, after the Korean War armistice Mao supported Ho Chi Minh's military offensive in Indochina, which helped bring Ho to power in North Vietnam. In the following years China, along with Russia, continued to support North Vietnam with war material until it finally conquered South Vietnam despite support from the United States. During this period the Chinese Government also gave material and propaganda support to Communist revolutions in Thailand and Malaysia, and in Indonesia where Communist rebels almost succeeded in a *coup*.

The major change in Chinese policies, which resulted in its turning away from supporting revolution and aggression and turning towards the United

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States, began to be laid with China's confrontation with the Soviet Union in the 1960s. Mao Tse-tung's characterization of the United States as a "paper tiger" in 1958 and cavalier dismissal of the dangers of nuclear war had frightened Khrushchev and caused him to withdraw the offer to give China a sample nuclear bomb. Relations then deteriorated to the point that ten years later the Soviets allegedly threatened a pre-emptive nuclear strike against China's nuclear weapon facilities. China needed diplomatic support, and President Nixon took advantage of this opening to start the normalization process with China that was carried forward by President Carter, who established diplomatic relations with China.[3] As a result, the United States' Mutual Defense Treaty with the Government of Taiwan was terminated. The *detente* with China was consolidated in the spring of 1984 with the visit to Beijing of President Reagan, a former opponent of this relationship.

Under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping China has become a world spokesman against hegemonism and imperialism. Chinese criticism against hegemonism mostly focuses on Russia, because Russian hegemonism affects their borders. According to the Chinese the major impediments to establishing friendly relations with Russia are : (i) the Russian occupation of Afghanistan ; (ii) the invasion of Kampuchea by Vietnam, which has been supported by Russia ; (iii) Russian stationing of troops in Mongolia and (iv) Russia's large-scale deployment of troops along China's northern border.[4] China, however, still gives moral support to what it calls anti-imperialistic revolutionary movements in Latin America, the Middle East and other parts of the world including the anti-Russian rebels in Aghanistan.

Although China points to the threat of Russian hegemonism, it takes a surprisingly relaxed military attitude of the Soviets. The primary emphasis on China's new economic policies under Deng Xiaoping and Prime Minister Zheng Zao is on consumer goods rather than on heavy industry and armaments. In previous years the Chinese under Chairman Mao, despite having one of the lower standards of living in Asia, had pressed forward to build nuclear weapons and delivery systems. They are still developing these weapons, but with an arsenal of perhaps only 300 to 400 relatively obsolete nuclear weapons, compared to Russia's 25,000 modern nuclear warheads, the Chinese no longer give military production the top priority.[5] Despite the fact that Russian forces are on their border the emphasis of Chinese economic plans is on consumer and light industry.[6] Contrast this Chinese policy with the rapidly mounting US nuclear arms budget and modernization of its systems with 25,000 nuclear warheads to deter a Russian threat on the other side of the world. The Chinese are relying on the deterrent of their 300 to 400 nuclear weapons as a sufficient threat to Russia. If the United States and Russia took such a view about deterrence, the arms race would collapse.

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Despite America's improved relations with China, the Chinese are critical of United States' power policies. For example, in the United Nations debate of October 1973 about Grenada, the Chinese said that the United States is "flagrantly" invading Grenada, had "wantonly trampled underfoot the independence and territorial integrity of a sovereign state and intervened in its internal affairs." It added that if the invasion was not checked effectively, what then would guarantee the sovereignty and independence of small countries ?[7] Similarly, Chinese spokesman criticized the rivalry in Central America where the Soviets tried to extend their "global reach" and deplored the "military interference" of the United States in the region.[8]

In the past few years the Chinese have been matching their criticisms of aggressive policies with examples of moderation. The most sensitive problem for them is the problem of Taiwan. Under Mao Zedong Chinese policy had been one of threatening Taiwan and attacking the Chinese Nationalist troops on the offshore islands adjacent to the mainland. Now, the Chinese Government is offering the olive branch to the Government of Taiwan and welcoming trade and visitors to the mainland. On 12 January 1984, Premier Zhao Ziyang in a meeting with the United States' West Coast Chinese community explained Chinese policy as follows :

> After reunification, Taiwan and the mainland shall both be part of the People's Republic of China, with Taiwan becoming a special administrative region.
> This means Taiwan can have an identity of its own, enjoying some exclusive powers denied other provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. It can practice a system different from that on the mainland. It can have an independent judiciary, with no need to ask Beijing for final judgement. Taiwan can keep its own armed forces. The mainland will send no representatives, troops or administrative personnel to Taiwan. The party, government and military apparatus in Taiwan will all remain under the control of Taiwan itself . .
> The mainland will not collect any tax from or impose any levies of money on Taiwan.[9]

The Chinese Government, however, would insist that it speak for all of China in foreign policy.

China's moderate policy towards Hong Kong demonstrates a sincerity on the Taiwan issue. China will recover sovereignty over Hong Kong in 1997 when the 100 year-old lease over about 90 per cent of Hong Kong and the adjacent New Territories expires. China did not make public threats, but its diplomatic pressure on the British brought about Great Britain's agreement that China would regain sovereignty again in 1997.

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The Chinese have agreed that China will permit Hong Kong to "remain unchanged in its social and economic systems and way of life for 50 years after China recovers sovereignty in 1997." Its status will be set out in concrete terms and guaranteed in a law to be adopted by China's National People's Congress.[10]

Hong Kong's social system today could be compared to a 19th century capitalist colony. It is managed by British authorities, and the Hong Kong Chinese have only a minor voice in the running of the government. In the latter part of 1983 there were capital flights and a fall in the value of the Hong Kong dollar as businessmen and others moved investments out of Hong Kong in anticipation of the lease expiring in 1997 and China's taking over control. However, China's moderate policies, noted above, have helped allay fears. More importantly, China has established three "special economic zones", two of which are adjacent to Hong Hong where foreigners are given incentives to invest and establish new enterprises. One reason for these experiments is to demonstrate to Hong Kong businessmen that they could prosper under China's laws. The businessmen of the new economic zones benefit with tax incentives and special exemptions from customs duties. China has promoted tourist and luxury investments, such as a country club and a Pepsi factory, as well as more basic enterprises in these zones. About 90 per cent of the investment has been from Hong Kong which reinforces China's case to discourage Hong Kong entrepreneurs and their investments from fleeing from Hong Kong.[11]

These moderate policies towards Taiwan and Hong Kong, and in the special economic zones, are demonstrative of the Chinese Government's pragmatic arrangements allowing private foreign business to prosper, while maintaining strict govermental controls over business in the rest of China.

China is also helping maintain a balance of power against the threat of Vietnam aggression in Southeast Asia. China continues to oppose the Vietnam occupation of Kampuchea and to support Thailand's border. Moreover, China has stopped support to the Communist rebels in northern Thailand and in northern Malaysia. Ironically, Beijing is now the major factor discouraging further Vietnamese aggression as demonstrated in the short "punishing" attack of February 1980 against Vietnam for its invasion of Kampuchea.

Also, the United States reportedly has been encouraging Beijing's participation in exploratory talks to achieve a final peace settlement for Korea. Beijing has been trying to get North Korea and South Korea to start negotiations although China has shunned direct participation in the talks. It is interesting to note that although China took a neutral stand on reports of North Korea's implication in the 9 October 1983 terrorist bombing in Rangoon, privately China deplored the bombing and North Korea withdrew its ambassador from Beijing shortly after the bombing.[12]

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There is another development that potentially has long range significance for America's relations with China. There are now over 10,000 Chinese students studying in the United States. This relationship, if continued, could consolidate the historic friendship during most of this century between the Chinese and American people. China on its part is proud of its new "open door" policy. In addition China is actively promoting tourism by building new hotels and making strenuous efforts to make the stay of tourists enjoyable.

The foreign policies make sense to a China needing foreign technology and struggling to catch up with the rest of the world. Long time China watchers, however, are still amazed at the moderation of a Communist regime that under Mao was even more radical than the Soviets. The political pressures affecting these policies, and whether they are likely to continue, are discussed in the final paragraphs.

SHIFT IN ECONOMIC POLICY DIRECTIONS

The major political battles of the People's Republic of China, which have raged under the slogans of the "cultural revolution" and the "great leap forward," have centered on economic policies. This is not surprising in a Communist state. The radicals have proposed self-reliance, extensive controls and coercion to promote production, while the moderates have supported economic incentives, a limited degree of private enterprise and foreign trade to stimulate the economy. Economic policies have not changed directions 180 degrees in the past few years like foreign policies, but there has been a dramatic shift in direction. The most important changes have been in agriculture.

Changing Agricultural System

Agricultural production and incomes have exploded in the past five years. In 1978, the "responsibility system" was introduced and promoted giving incentives to farmers to produce above quotas by allowing groups to get bonuses for above quota production and to sell products in free markets. Family groups can bid for, or contract for, such quotas.[13] The results of this new system are evident throughout China. Cities have free markets along the streets selling garden produce, meat fish, and handiwork items. Many new brick homes are being built in the countryside, particularly in areas near the cities. Official figures state that farm incomes have doubled in the past five years, and there is no reason to doubt the figures.[14] Chinese statistics now appear to reflect an effort to get at the true situation in contrast to the Great Leap Forward years

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when statisticians were supposed to demonstrate success of the Great Leap Forward.[15]

Responsibility System Extended to Industrial Sector

China has a long way to go before its industrial sector catches up with that of modern industrial countries. However, 80 per cent of China's population and of its working forces is rural, and, as noted above, the farmers' income has about doubled in the past few years. Thus, the modernization of the industrial base directly affects less than 20 per cent of the economic base of the economy. Within that 20 per cent China has created a nuclear deterrent and has invited foreign investors to help develop petroleum resources and attract tourism. American companies have invested about $400 million in oil exploration off the coast of China, along with British and Japanese companies. Much more investment is needed, but petroleum is already a major export of China.[16] Tourism is booming with Chinese businessmen from Hong Kong and Singapore helping China build and manage modern hotels, which are a lucrative source of foreign exchange.

In the rest of the industrial and urban economy China is struggling to loosen controls accumulated in 30 years of Mao's controlled economy. In June 1983, state-owned enterprises converted to profit-based bookkeeping on a tax-paying basis instead of just turning over profits to the state. Enterprises can retain some of their profit and spend it for housing and other purposes. They are being given increasing latitude to work out their own deals for obtaining raw materials and selling their products.[17] On 20 October 1984 the Party Central Committee passed a comprehensive "reform of the economic structure." The major theme is to extend the "responsibility system," that worked so well in agriculture, to managers of industrial enterprises. This will permit them to link wages and bonuses to individual performance. The Party "decision" stresses that the price structure must be reformed to ensure a dynamic economy. It keeps controls only on major products with the rest subject to "guidance planning or left entirely to the market." Moreover the document stresses China will continue the opening to the outside world as a long term strategy to accelerate socialist modernization.

There are still serious imbalances such as energy shortages and transportation bottlenecks, but reports on the 1984 performance indicate that the industrial economy resumed an expansion, after a few years of sluggish growth.[18] This is important because the cities are centers of political power even though they have a minority of the population.

The question remains in some minds of the reliability of New China's statistics.[19] Observations of the activity in free markets in the cities and the evidence of new construction in the adjacent countryside

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today are consistent with the statistical data. This was further confirmed in my discussion with a top economic official of the American Embassy in Beijing who stated that the Chinese are now on a "truth kick" with their statistics as part of their economic open door policy.[20]

Population Control Policies—Key Part of Economic Plan

The Chinese population control policies are a key part of their economic plan that has received a great deal of attention in the West. One very frank account of their model for population control in Changchow was carried on US Public TV's NOVA programme entitled "Sixty Minutes" in February 1984. The programme showed how responsibility for population control in Changchow is delegated down to the neighbourhood levels where "granny police" keep track of contraceptives used by the families, pregnancies and individual desires to have children. The one-child, one family policy is effected by certificates for having a child granted to those promising to have only one child. These certificates permit parents to get a subsidy payment from the state and free education for that one child. Pregnancy quotas are set for each neighbourhood and wives apply for permission to have a child. If a woman becomes pregnant after having one child, the granny and members of the neighbourhood group put pressure on the woman to have an abortion. A family having a second child would have to repay the family subsidy to the state.

This is the model plan, which has not been implemented throughout China, but essential elements are in place. Signs are up throughout China calling for support for only one child per family. Mothers get extensive maternity leave for the first child, but a very limited amount of leave for the second. State family subsidies, housing, and even promotions depend on whether the husband and wife cooperate with the policy. Marriages are forbidden until the age of 22 for men and 20 for women.[21] In October 1983 the Ministry of Public Health reported that the population growth rate had dropped from 2.6 per cent in 1970 to 1.2 per cent in 1979. It added that if the fertility rate can be brought down 1.5 per woman of child-bearing age by 1985, China will meet its goals of limiting population to 1.2 billion by the end of this century.[22] Figure I shows a dramatic decrease in the lowest population groups in 1982 compared to previous years, which reflects the success of the new policies.

The *Health Newspaper* of the Ministry of Health has stated that regional population plans will be completed soon to enable China to meet the goals of its economic plans. The major problem is in the countryside. Chen Muhua, the Vice Premier who has provided most of the impetus for the population control programme, noted that in many cities 75 to 80 per cent of the population had signed up for the one-child bonus

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scheme, but that in the countryside only 60 per cent of the families had signed.[23]

Many American observers would applaud the Chinese programmes for controlling the growth of their 1 billion population, while many others would be shocked at the extent to which the Chinese state is intervening in the personal lives of its people. These extreme population policies are causing resentments that could have a major political impact. Raising a family is the chief source of satisfaction and pleasure for many Chinese and other human beings, and state intervention as pictured in the NOVA programme if extended throughout China could threaten support for and the stability of the government.

PROSPECTS OF CHINA'S RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES

Is the present direction of Chinese economic and foreign policies likely to be maintained, and what are the prospects for China's relations with the United States ?

China's new open door policy arose from the fear of Soviet Union's supremacy and China's desire to benefit from Western technology and trade. The basis for the United States' policy is the historic support for the political and economic independence of China and the desire to forestall a hostile alliance of the two largest Communist powers in the world. At present there are no signs of a change in Soviet policies towards China. If there should be such a change, this would prepare the way not only for a Russian *detente* with China but also for a widening of *detente* to include better relations among the three countries.

Pragmatic Chinese have realized, as the contacts with the West have widened, the extent of their backwardness and how their system could benefit from Western technology. China has only begun to industrialize with 80 per cent of its people dependent on agriculture. The United States with about the same area as China feeds its own population with less than 5 per cent of its work force in agriculture and has grain left over to be a major grain exporter. It appears that China's relaxation of economic controls in the countryside has gone so far and is so popular that it would be difficult to reverse the process. Agricultural income has about doubled in the past five years and the explosion of the free markets in the cities of China has provided food and handicraft items to the city worker that were not available before.

Reforms are also taking place in the industrial sector, but this sector is more complex and more tied in with politics. It will be harder to dismantle the network of controls established there under Mao. Nevertheless, foreign investors have had a major impact in oil exploration and construction of tourist facilities for the new China. Truck, textile, steel and

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other enterprises are also beginning to make joint ventures with foreign firms.

China's foreign trade reflects the new open door policies, expanding from 12 per cent of its national income in 1978 to 19 per cent in 1981, when trade levelled off.[24] China's trade has risen from 32nd position in the world in 1978 to 16th in 1983.[25] The total amount, however, was still only about $40 billion, which is approximately the same amount as Taiwan, which has a population of only 2 per cent of mainland China.

US trade with China has also increased markedly, but it fell back sharply in 1983 after the former imposed unilateral bans on 30 categories of Chinese textile imports to protect US domestic industry. Beijing responded by stopping imports of US cotton, soyabeans and polyester fibre and cut back on other agricultural items. As a result, US wheat sales in 1983 were only $184 million, 29 per cent of 1982, while Chinese purchases of cotton and soyabeans fell to almost nothing. Overall, US exports to China declined 65 per cent from January to June 1983 compared to the first six months of 1982. Recognizing that trade is a two way proposition, the United States signed a more liberal textile agreement in July 1983, and trade in grains picked up. US exports are expected to recover in 1984. However, the marked increase in farm production in China has created a surplus of cotton, which is expected to discourage further cotton imports, and increased Chinese grain production will probably forestall major long-range increases in Chinese imports of grain. The tremendous consuming potential of a market of one billion people, on the other hand, indicates trade will increase over the long run.[26] Meanwhile, China's demand for imports of technology, including defensive military technology, continues.

China needs Western technology to develop its off-shore oil resources and to help modernize its antiquated industries. American businessmen, lured by the potential of a market of one billion people, are pursuing investment and trade opportunities. Moreover, wealthy Chinese communities of Asia have felt the tug of their motherland and have invested in joint enterprises. Over 10,000 Chinese students are studying in the United States ; this will have a long range effect of keeping the open door between the two countries. With President Reagan's visit to China, with China's moderate policies toward Taiwan and Hong Kong, and with its policies of antihegemonism, the prospects for a continued *rapprochement* with the United States are good.

What are the potential forces that could change the present moderate course of Chinese policies ? Chinese politics are secretive and mysterious, at least to outside observers, and it is realistic only to make some broad generalizations. First there are still supporters of the radical, anti-open door policy in China. The present leadership under Deng Xiaoping succeeded in punishing the "gang of four," but Deng has called for a purge

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of the party to oust leftists, corrupt party members and incompetents including those resisting the new reforms. He states the party with its 40 million members compared with only 26 million in 1977, has become too big and unwieldly.[27]

Deng Xiaoping has also challenged the military leaders calling some of the commanders "indolent and irresponsible." He may mollify some of them by purchases of new military equipment, following Secretary of Defense Weinberger's visit in September 1984, but the Chinese military potentially are a powerful source of opposition to the new course. If there is friction along the long border with Russia, they could use that to support a call for a larger share of GNP devoted to defense and a reversal of the present emphasis on consumer goods.

The rural sector, which makes up 80 per cent of the population, is benefiting from Deng's new responsibility system, the free market policies and emphasis on producing consumer goods. However, they are resisting the strict targets of the one-child one-family policy. American observers gasp at the TV show indicating the extent to which the population control policy is carried in Changchou, with "granny police" intervening in the most personal part of human relationships. Chinese authorities are still debating about how far to go with these policies and what population targets to set for the provinces. It is not necessary to pass a value judgement on the Chinese policies to conclude that this government intervention is bound to cause resentment and resistance to authority.

The open door policy, the responsibility system and other lifting of controls threaten the privileged position of party members and officials who formerly exercised these controls. Generally when the position of those in power is attacked, there is likely to be trouble. China has a tradition of political conflicts and drastic changes in policies, so it would take a convinced optimist to believe that the present moderate and pragmatic course of Chinese policy will not have reverses.

However, the benefits of the present economic policies are creating a reinforcing cycle of support for further loosening up economic and even the political controls in China. There has already been a minor relaxation of controls related to the political process, such as opening the door to tourists including Chinese tourists from other countries visiting relatives in China. Surveillance of such tourists by police is minimal compared to surveillance of tourists in the Soviet Union. Moreover, over ten thousand Chinese are studying in the United States compared to a handful from the Soviet Union. China is on a "truth kick" in its statistics and economic reports, and it has permitted some remarkably frank TV specials on life in China.[28] This contrasts with controls of the Russian Communist system in such matters. Chinese authorities believe it is necessary to maintain strict travel controls over the rural population to prevent overcrowding of their

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cities, but the increasing incomes in the rural areas are lessening the pressures to maintain such controls.

The trend in China supporting moderate foreign and domestic policies appears to be gathering momentum. This political process is lessening the economic controls, and it could eventually push the present political system towards democracy. The process already has brought China and the United States closer together and has permitted a resumption of friendly relations between the Chinese and American people. By the end of this century the 1950 to 1970 period of confrontation may be viewed as only an aberration in the normally good relations between the two governments. Moreover, by that time China's size and natural dynamism may have brought it a long way toward being a super power.

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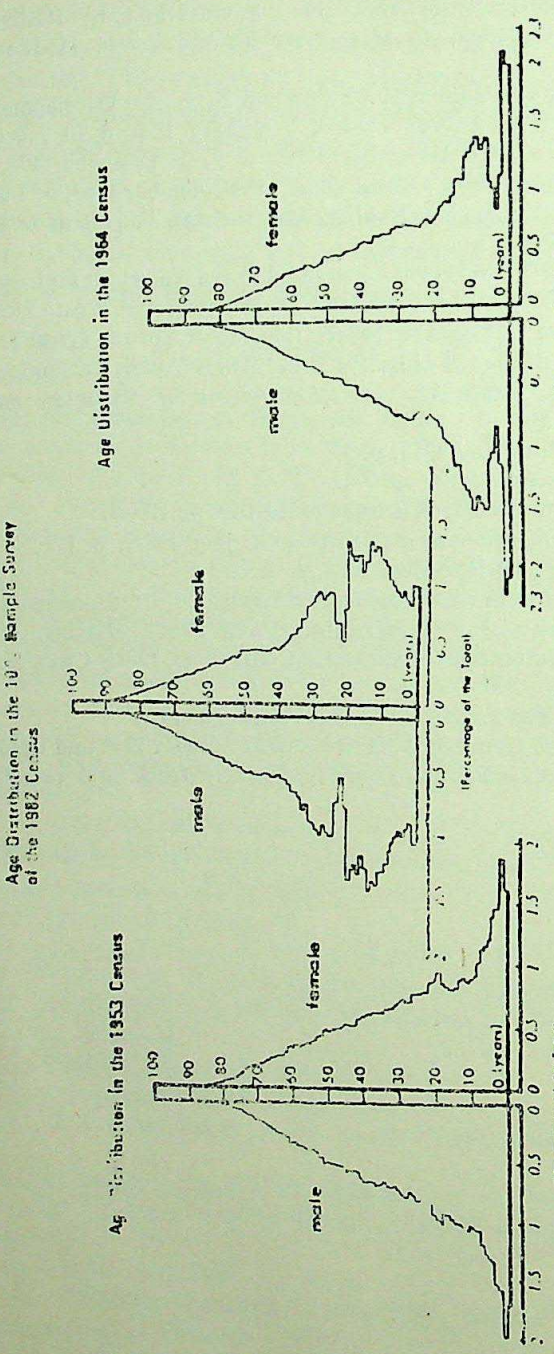
Figure I

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF CHINA'S POPULATION 1953, 1964, and 1982



Note the contrast in the decreased percentage of age groups 1 to 5 in the 1982 census compared to the percentage in previous censuses.

Source : *Beijing Review*, 16 January 1984, p. 20

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FOREIGN POLICY OF SAUDI ARABIA : INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL CONTEXTS

By GULSHAN DIETL*

The domestic capabilities and compulsions are the major inputs in a country's foreign policy. Regional and global circumstances influence these inputs and make them operational. Thus, the foreign policy of a country, at any given time, reflects the internal and regional contexts. This paper proposes to highlight the domestic dilemma, regional vulnerability and global alignments in Saudi foreign policy.

INTERNAL POLITICAL DYNAMICS

Al-Mamlick-al-Arabiyya as-Saudiyya is the only country in the world that is named after its ruling dynasty. In today's world, where very few ruling monarchies have survived, the Saudi Monarchy could easily be termed the biggest, richest and the most powerful of them all. Although, the present state of Saudi Arabia was established in 1901, its history could be traced back to the year 1744 when Muhammad al-Saud, tribal Sheikh, and Muhammad Abdel Wahhab, a preacher and propagator of the original pristine Islam, entered into an unwritten covenant. Saud agreed to devote his sword to the cause of Islam and Wahhab accepted to guide him along the right path. The Saudi Monarchy has thus evolved out of tribal moorings, graduated through a rigorous Islamic discipline and emerged as the head of a political entity. It is still a blend of tribal, religious and political ingredients and the ruler still wields his authority as the tribal Sheikh, the religious Imam and the temporal Malek.

The tribe has always been a powerful variable in the political calculations of the Saudi rulers. Each of these tribes has been traditionally enjoying the royal patronage on the basis of its size, leadership, military power, geographic location (astride the international borders and therefore spilling out into the neighbouring countries), marriages into the Saud family and so on. The tribal linkages have penetrated the highest echeleons of state apparatus. The strongest faction of the princes—the Sudairis—derive their identity and unity from the fact that their mother belonged to the Sudair tribe. King Fahd is the senior most member of this group.

Tribal politics has generally been of accommodation, but the strands of opposition are not totally missing. It is not entirely without significance

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that the leader of the Mecca seizure in November 1979 was Juhaiman al-Utaibi, who was born in a small *hijra* (Islamic agricultural settlement) in Qasim which was a battle-ground between the Saud and Sultan bin-Bijad bin-Humaid al-Utaibi only half a century back. The proclaimed *mahdi* of the mosque was Muhammad al-Qahtani, a member of another tribe that had risen in revolt against the Sauds.

Islam has been an equally powerful variable that is taken into political consideration. The officially patronized Wahhabi Islam does not evoke the same response throughout the Kingdom. The Hijazis are Sunnis, the Asiris comprise the Wahhabis, Zaydis, as well as Ismailis, and an overwhelming majority of the people of Hasa are Shiis. The Al As-Sheikh family, the descendants of Muhammad Abdel Wahhab, is the guardian of faith and is represented in the Council of Ministers as well as the Judiciary.

The Wahhabi Islam has largely been a legitimizer of the Saudi rule and a justifier of its policies. The Sunni Islam has continued to simmer under the weight of Wahhabism, although it has exploded at least twice in the recent years. Shiis of Hasa had borne their misfortune and disfavour rather stoically until the end of 1979 when the happenings in Mecca stirred them to near frenzy. The demonstrations that began to mark the day of *Ashura* (the tenth day of the month of Muharram, the day of Imam Hussein's martyrdom) continued early into the next year when they once again reached a crescendo in February 1980, the first anniversary of the return of Khomeini to Tehran. Although the official repositories of Wahhabism are totally identified with the system, Wahhabism as such has not lost its revolutionary potential as shown by the Mecca Revolt. The demands of the rebels included end of corruption, extravagent expenditure, etc.

In the secular arena, the Saudi rulers have selected and promoted the common Saudi citizens on an individual basis. Today, Sheikh Ahmed Zaki Yamani, the powerful Minister of Oil ; Hisham Nazir, the Minister of Industry and Electricity ; Ali al-Sheer, the Minister of Information are all commoners. However, the most important posts in the Council of Ministers are still in the hands of the princes. Besides, the presence of the commoners hardly amounts to political participation as such, and much less to representation of the people in the government.

The secular dissent operates either from underground or from across the borders. The Arabian Peninsula People's Union, which was formed way back in the fifties, still operates as an umbrella organization for a number of dissent groups. Recently, there are a few signs to indicate that a student organization, the Saudi Students Union in Asia and Europe, is operating from the Western University campuses. The Saudi rulers have promised to liberalize the system and provide for a *Majlis-a-Shura* (Consultative Council) as a first step towards it. So far however, nothing has been done.

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FOREIGN POLICY INPUTS

A Backgr ound

The creation of the state of Saudi Arabia was a direct result of the global rivalry between the Ottomans and Germany on the one hand, Britain on the other, and the regional hostility between Kuwait and Heil. Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany was planning to extend the Berlin-Baghdad railway upto Kuwait. Kuwait sought to prevent it by seeking shelter under the British protective umbrella. The Germans pressurized the Ottomans, and they in turn, ordered their representative at Heil in the Arabian peninsula to launch an attack on Kuwait. Abdel Rahman ibn-Saud of Riyadh had sought political asylum in Kuwait, and Kuwait made use of the opportunity by urging Abdel Rahman to launch an attack on Riyadh, a province of Heil. Kuwait was only trying to keep Heil occupied at home and thus stall the attack, but prince Abdel Aziz, the son of Abdel Rahman, grabbed the chance and reconquered Riyadh. The creation of Saudi Arabia was thus a unique triumph of "non-alignment" at the turn of the century.

King Abdel Aziz never forgot the lesson. "Non-alignment" became a running theme in the Saudi foreign policy. All through the First World War, whereas the Ottomans were firmly with Germany and Sherif Hussein was totally committed to the British cause, Abdel Aziz refused to operate on any one's behalf. The result was that by the end of the war, Saudi Arabia had expanded at the expense of the Ottomans in the east and at the expense of Sherif Hussein in the West.

Having expanded the country upto its present borders, the King entered into agreements with the American Oil Companies on oil exploration. During the Second World War, he accepted grants and lend-lease assistance from the United States Government and permitted a US air-base to be set up at Dhahran. All these moves emanated from Abdel Aziz's need for money and security, but there was a different angle to the rapidly growing US-Saudi ties. Saudi interests were in conflict with the British presence in the Gulf on three specific counts. First, the British policy on Palestine was a source of humiliation for Saudi Arabia ; second, the British had special relations with the rival monarchies in Iraq and Jordan ; and third, the British had truce relations with the Gulf Sheikhs, with most of whom the Saudis had border disputes, especially over the Buraimi Oasis. Thus, Saudi friendship with the United States was aimed at diminishing the British presence in West Asia.

Meanwhile, Abdel Aziz was following the same instinct of balancing forces in Arab affairs. Often that instinct accounted for strange Arab alliances in which the Saudis went along with republican Egypt and Syria *vis-a-vis* the Hashemite monarchies. During these years, the Saudis

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were active in the Afro-Asian, Arab League and the Non-Aligned forums. They consistently championed the cause of Palestine and Algeria, staunchly opposed the formation of any US-sponsored military alliance, heavily contributed in money and morale towards weaning Jordan away from the Baghdad Pact, and established an Arab defence alliance against the Pact.

A perceptible change in Saudi foreign policy set in with the war in Yemen in the 1960s, which compelled Saudi Arabia to move away from an increasingly aggressive Pan-Arabism, which had become anti-monarchical in content, and forge a new identity within a Pan-Islamic framework. *The Rabita al-Alam il-Islami* and the Organization of Islamic Conferences were steps in that direction.

After the Arab-Israel War of 1967, Saudi Arabia staged a triumphant come back on the Arab scene. However it had itself become too big a power by then to follow a middle course. It was now at the centre of the Arab stage, where there was virtually no other significant actor. The Saudis expressed their balancing instinct by basing their leadership claim on two separate props, viz., Pan-Arabism and Pan-Islamism. Within these groups, they stayed on top by means of the complementary tactics of consensus and mediation. In Lebanon, between the two Yemens, between Iraq and Syria, between Algeria and Morocco, between Kenya and Somalia, and between Libya and Sudan, they managed to be around and seen as mediators. Whenever differences turned too strong and caused a clear division among the Arab ranks, the Saudis could be easily spotted in the bigger and stronger of the two groups.

The External Context

The Arab-Israel War of 1973 and the consequent Arab deployment of the oil weapon heralded the present phase of the Saudi foreign policy. Oil gave the state an effective say in the global power equation, which further buttressed its regional leadership role. Saudi oil was first marketed in 1939; since then, each year there had been fresh oil findings to more than make up the oil that had been extracted. 1981 was the first year ever when more petroleum was pumped than was replaced by the new discoveries.[1] Ghawar, the world's largest on shore oil-well and Safaniya, the world's largest off-shore oil-well are both in Saudi Arabia. It has nearly one-fourth of the world oil reserves; its proven oil reserves are 114 billion barrels and its probable oil reserves are 178 billion barrels. However, Ahmed Zaki Yamani claims that Saudi Arabia has at least twice as much oil as generally thought; the proven oil reserves are nearly 180 billion barrels and, as for the probable, he says; "fasten your seat belts, you would be amazed."[2] Saudi Arabia is also the largest seller of oil; its sale being almost three times bigger than its nearest rival.

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Oil, Saudi Arabia's greatest source of strength, has also proved to be the major cause of its vulnerability. In the aftermath of the oil embargo, the oil-states were subjected to unceasing pressures from the United States. On 21 November 1973, Henry Kissinger, the United States Secretary of State spoke sharply about the "Arab pressures" and "Arab shut-down of oil" and affirmed that the United States would not be influenced in changing its policy because of the oil embargo; he also warned of the possibility of "counter-measures" against the producers.[3] That generated a public debate on the feasibility of US intervention in the Gulf.[4] The Brookings Institution, an important think-tank, published a study on the use of US armed forces for specific political objectives in a particular situation.[5] The Library of Congress twice commissioned studies to assess the United States' military capability to capture the oil fields.[6]

Against the background of the threats of military intervention, the United States took some positive political measures. The Kissinger shuttles were one such important initiative. In the economic field, it made itself an indispensible partner of the newly-rich Gulf states especially Saudi Arabia by providing the weapon systems, consumer goods, investment opportunities and a market for the oil. Most important however, were the United States' guarantees to the existing regimes in these states which involved a policy of preserving a rigid status-quo.

The Saudi response has been predictable. An overwhelming part of the Saudi foreign trade is with the West. Twenty-five per cent of the Saudi budget is spent on the import of weapons from the United States and Western Europe. Consumer goods as well as services in the various sectors like road-building, construction, health, etc., come mainly from the West. The investment patterns follow the same pro-Western line, with nearly 85 per cent of the investment lying idle in banks in Europe or in the United States. The Saudis have thus exercised a conscious choice in favour of functioning within the Western economic system. Their oil policy has been regularly guided by the considerations of keeping the Western economy in good health. At times they have gone to the extent of making large financial contributions to prop up the economies in countries like Britain, France, Italy, Portugal and Spain.

At present, the United States-Saudi relations are so close that whenever US leaders and academics refer to them, they do not call them bilateral relations, mutual relations or simply relations. They always make it a point to refer to them as "special relations." An American writer has written at great length on the United States-Saudi "two-way special relationship."[7] Another calls it "a classic symbiosis" meaning an "association of two different organisms living attached to each other to their mutual advantage," and goes on to elaborate on it without once mentioning even a minor irritant between the two states.[8] President Carter out

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did them all when he proclaimed : "the future of Saudi Arabia and the future of the United States are tied together very closely in an irrevocable way."[9]

As against this, the Saudis have had only a short spell of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. These relations came to an abrupt end during the Second World War. Since then Saudi Arabia has not had diplomatic relations with any Communist country. The only exception to this are the Saudi relations with the Peoples Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY), an avowedly Marxist state; an exception which may be explained in the context of Saudi Arabia's Arab commitment.

Since 1973, the Soviets and the Saudis have acknowledged each other's existence and have nodded to each other now and then. The nodding acquaintance gradually led to exchange of visits by religious delegations, to Saudi praise of the positive role of the Soviets on the Arab-Israel issue, and to the reciprocal Soviet utterances about the Saudi nationalist traditions and vague talks about resuming diplomatic relations. The nods stopped short of a handshake in the wake of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. The prospect of an early resumption of the process are almost nil. In the long-run, restoration of diplomatic ties and limited cooperation between Saudi Arabia and the Soviet Union cannot be ruled out, although the near-total Saudi dependence on the United States would hinder any genuine contacts between the two.

New Regional Directions : The Gulf Cooperation Council

In January 1979, Prince Fahd gave an interview to Paul Martin of *Newsweek*.[10] Standing at a map, he placed his right hand on Pakistan and solemnly swept it across Afghanistan and Iran to the Gulf. His left hand traced a path through Ethiopia and across the Red Sea to SouthernYemen at the tip of Arabia. "That is what we call Communism's pincer movement," he said with a wry smile. "And if Iran goes then God help us." The interview is extremely significant on four counts; first, who said it; second, what was said; third, the dreaded eventuality did happen; and fourth, it presaged an active Saudi diplomacy in the region.

Ever since the British withdrawal from the East of Suez, the attempts to form a Gulf-wide security network have been afoot. In the mid-seventies, the Shah proposed a regional security organization. Although, Saudi Arabia and Iran constituted the United States' "two pillar" policy in the Gulf, the Saudis did not show an eagerness to come under the Shah-sponsored umbrella. In early 1980, President Saddam Hussein of Iraq proposed an eight-point "Arab National Charter" with a special emphasis on the Gulf. It called on the regional states to reject foreign troops, bases and faeilities on their territories and coordinate their efforts towardsa regional alliance. The Saudis were even less willing to accede to the leadership of Iraq.

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It was only in March 1981 that they quietly put together the Gulf Co-operation Council (GCC) under their own unchallanged leadership. The Iran-Iraq War was raging in the neighbourhood ; the rumblings of Iran-inspired disturbances were still lingering in the Gulf states ; and both together created a dangerous enough situation to warrant a firm and united response. More important still, the war removed Iraq and Iran, the earlier champions of a regional grouping and the potential leaders, from the scene. Saudi Arabia could coveniently leave them out of its own scheme of things.

The Gulf Cooperation Council, therefore, is a Saudi creation and marks their very first diplomatic initiative—since the formation of the Organization of Islamic Conferences in mid-sixties. The GCC Charter[11] says that,

> ... in recognition of similar ties, shared features and similar governments . and the perceived importance of close cooperation between them in all spheres, and their belief in a shared destiny particularly the economic and social spheres, and unity of purpose, and their desire to effect coordination, integration and linkage between themselves in all fields....

Thus, it heralds the creation of a very closely-knit organization. The Charter also enumerates a wide gamut of activities in which cooperation is envisaged, "in fields of economy and finance, education and culture, social affairs, health, communications of all types, information, passports, nationalities and travel, transport, commercial affairs, customs and movement of goods, and legal and legislative affairs." Also, the GCC is not only a very well-knit group, but also a group with wide-ranging functions.

Since the member-states of the GCC are oil producing states—precluding a significant trade among them--the Council has provided them a forum for developing a common outlook on many of the economic issues. It has taken a number of major decisions to coordinate their economic policies ; for example to establish a Gulf Investment Corporation, to coordinate their exports and imports ; to remove restrictions on movements of citizens within the GCC member-states ; to do away with customs on trade among themselves ; to encourage joint projects ; to establish a Labour Institute to train the indigenous labour-force ; to build a pipeline network to carry the Gulf oil to the Arabian Sea and a major highway from Kuwait to Salalah in the Southern Oman,[12] so that the closure of the Straits of Hormuz would have a minimum effect on their economies ; to arrange for a chartered aircraft to carry letters and parcel mail to and fro to the Gulf; to unify their currency and so on. Only some of their decisions have been really implemented ; for example, the Gulf Investment Corporation with an initial capital of $ 2.1 billion is formed.[13] Some progress has also been made on other issues ; the member-states have agreed to issue similar types

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of identity-papers to their nationals for the purpose of travel within the GCC area, although the movement of people across the national borders has not been made free. Many others however, have not been tackled at all ; a case in point is the unified currency.

On the oil issue, the GCC has managed to stick together through the period of oil glut, fall in prices and production quotas. Beyond the region, the GCC has forged bilateral ties with the EEC. The Euro-Arab Dialogue that was abandoned almost as soon as it started may yet be resumed under the fresh EEC-GCC formula.[14]

The GCC has also provided a political platform to its member-states. The Commission for the Settlement of Disputes is a unique feature of the GCC organizational structure and is directly put under the purview of its Supreme Council with powers to settle the existing and likely disputes between the member-states. The most outstanding achievement of the GCC in this field was the resolution of the dispute between Bahrain and Qatar on the Huwar Islands in March 1982. It has also sought to resolve the differences between one of its member-states and an outsider. Thus it played a sustained and mediatory role between Oman and the PDRY and succeeded in not only eliminating the border skirmishes between the two, but also in restoring diplomatic relations between them. As regards the Iraq-Iran War, the GCC has been far too committed on the side of Iraq to take up the posture of an honest broker. Instead, it has given financial support to the Iraqi war efforts and made clear its willingness to pay the reparations on behalf of Iraq to Iran if that leads to the end of war.

To back up the political cooperation, the GCC member-states have planned to launch a cultural offensive. It would include a joint daily newspaper, a powerful broadcasting station, a joint television channel and so on.

The most crucial area of the GCC activities is security. The GCC Charter lays down a vast sphere of activities. Conspicuously missing in the list is any reference to security—which is clearly international. At the very first GCC Summit, in May 1981, the Omani Government had circulated a working paper on the security aspects of the Council. Although consideration on it was deferred, security since then has occupied a steadily expanding role in the GCC.

Soon after the aborted uprising in Bahrain in February 1982, Saudi Arabia took the initiative and entered into security treaties with each of the GCC member-states, except Kuwait. These treaties are mainly directed at the domestic opposition. Since then, the GCC has prepared detailed plans for countering *coup* attempts and coordinating information on the dissidents in each of the countries.[15]

The GCC has also made a common cause against external threats. The Saudi AWACS planes have been geared to the aerial intelligence requirements of the GCC territory and attempts are underway to achieve stan-

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dardization in their overall defence systems as well. In October 1983, when the Iranian threats to mine the Straits of Hormuz became serious, the GCC demonstrated its collective military might when it carried out a two-week long manoeuvre at the Al-Munsa sea-front in the United Arab Emirates (UAE). The announcement of the formation of a "Gulf Rapid Movement Force" is yet another example of the same resolve.[16]

The Fahd Peace Plan

On the Arab-Israel problem, Saudi policy has consistently been guided by two factors ; it does not want a war with Israel and it does not want a divided Arab position on the problem. Any of the two could gravely undermine Saudi Arabia's position in the Arab world and may prove a catalyst for radical developments within the country itself. The Saudis have therefore persevered in shaping and holding an Arab consensus on the issue and slowly veering it towards a political option.

After the Camp David Accords, Saudi Arabia went along with the Arab consensus of breaking off all ties with Egypt ; but then went about implementing it only selectively. Saudi investments in the Egyptian banks were left untouched, Egyptians working in Saudi Arabia were permitted to continue to send back remittances to Egypt, Saudi students studying in Egypt were recalled only at the end of their academic year, and so on. The decision to transport its oil from the east coast to the refineries in Yanbu on the west coast and export the refined oil from there to the Red Sea through the Suez Canal was also taken with an eye on retaining the Egyptian goodwill. The recent Organization of Islamic Conferences decision to invite Egypt back to rejoin the group is a result of Saudi behind-the-door persuasion.

Beyond Egypt, the Saudis have made appropriate noises in response to the Israeli expansionism but nothing beyond that. Thus, when Israel declared Jerusalem—including the occupied Arab sector—the undivided capital of Israel, it called for the liberation of Jerusalem. Again, when Israel launched a lightening attack on the Iraqi nuclear plant—Osirak—in June 1981, it promised to rebuild a bigger and better Osirak for the Iraqis. In July 1981, it helped in bringing about a cease-fire between the PLO and Israel in South Lebanon—a diplomatic feat in which the United States took care of the Israeli end of the deal. From that time onwards, the Saudis toyed with the idea of announcing a comprehesive peace plan to bring about a political settlement between the Arabs and Israel.

As such on 7 August 1981, the then Crown Prince Fahd proposed an eight-point Peace Plan[17]—the first ever Arab initiative for a political option. The Plan called for : (i) "Israeli withdrawal from all territories occupied in the 1967 War." This formulation is taken from the United Nations General Assembly Resolutions 224 and 338. (ii) "Removal of

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all Israeli settlements in the West Bank and other occupied areas." This is implicit in the first point. (iii) "Guarantees of freedom of worship of all religious sects in the Holy Land." This is a typical Saudi concern. King Feisal's fondest desire was to pray in the Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem before he died, which remained unfulfilled. The Saudi custodianship of Mecca and Medina, the two holiest places in Islam, gives them a moral right and responsibility to speak for Jerusalem—the third holiest place in Islam. (iv) "Recognition of the right of two million Palestinian refugees for repatriation, and compensation for those who did not wish to return." The choice between compensation and repatriation has been the oldest assurance given to the Palestinians from 1949 onwards—much before the Palestinian claims to a state were recognized. (v) "A United Nations Trusteeship in the Palestinian-populated West Bank and Gaza Strip during the transition period of a few months." The Plan envisages a significant role for the United Nations during the process of Israeli withdrawal and even later in the form of security guarantees which is mentioned in point eight. (vi) "Establishment of an independent Palestinian state with the Arab sector of Jerusalem as its capital." Whereas the formula did not mention the PLO specifically and thereby fell short of the Palestinian expectations, it did mark an advance over the various earlier formulations by asserting the Palestinian sovereignty over the Arab sector of Jeruslem. It reemphasizes Saudi concern over the holy places of Islam. On 2 November, Prince Fahd sought to assuage the Palestinian fears over the ommission of the PLO by saying : "There is no peace without the Palestinian people and there is no Palestinian state without the PLO." (vii) "Guaranteeing the right of all states in the area to live in peace." This obviouly is the crux of the Plan. Since the Plan is a package, the recognition of the right of all states to live in peace is conditional upon the Israeli withdrawal to the 1967 borders and the establishment of an independent state of Palestine with Jerusalam as its capital. Inspite of that, the Saudis have had to muster all moral courage at their command to propose the idea and not get istantly boycotted by fellow-Arabs. In fact, the acting Saudi Ambassador to the United Nations, Gaafar Allagany was so hard-pressed to explain this point that he ultimately conceded that it did amount to recognition of Israel. The next day, the Saudi official sources issued a terse note which was carried in the Saudi newspapers on the front page : "The Acting Ambassador Gaafar Allagany's explanations about certain points in the Plan are not proper and he is not authorized to give personal explanation on the Plan." (viii) Guarantees of any agreement by the United Nation or some of its members." The reference is obviously to the Soviet Union. Prince Saud, the Foreign Minister, elaborated the last point at some length. The Plan, he said, after getting endorsed by the United Nations in the form of a new composite United Nations Security Council Resolution, would provide the

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basis for an international peace conference. The very mention of an "international peace conference" is significant as the Soviet President had proposed the same a few months earlier and this had elicited favourable responses only from Jordan and Kuwait among the moderate states.

It has always been Saudi genius to strive for and remain with the Arab consensus. The Fahd Plan proved to be a disastrous exception. Yasser Arafat, who visited Saudi Arabia in November 1981 and expressed support for the plan could not convince his own colleagues about its merits. Farouk Kaddouni, also belonging to the *al-Fatah* faction of Arafat, publicly rejected the seventh point of the Plan. Various other radical factions within the PLO expressed unconditional hostility to it. A secret PLO Executive Committee met in Beirut before the Arab Summit at Fez, to be held on 25 November, to evolve a uniform strategy at which Arafat found himself virtually isolated and was compelled to retract his support for it at Fez.

Even Saudi Arabia's own client-states in the GCC found it difficult to endorse it entirely. The Second GCC Summit in November at Riyadh, where the plan was expected to sail through triumphantly, only "reviewed Arab and international reaction to the Fahd Plan and asked Saudi Arabia to include it in the agenda of the Arab Summit at Fez, Morocco, later this month with a view to achieving a common Arab position."

The Arab Foreign Ministers who met for three days before the Summit, debated the plan without putting it to vote. However, in the course of the debate, only Bahrein, Morocco, Oman, Qatar, Somalia, Sudan and Tunisia gave an open support to it. Kuwait, Jordan and the UAE, offered a qualified backing. Mauritania and Lebanon indicated that they would abstain in case of a formal voting, and Algeria, Libya, Syria, PDRY, PLO, Iraq and YAR voiced opposition to it.[18] The Arab Summit which met on 25 November, within a few hours after the inauguration, announced an unprecedented cancellation of its scheduled four-day deliberations and postponed the meeting to a later date.

Back home, Fahd briefed the Council of Ministers on 1 December, where he asserted that the plan was still on the agenda of the Summit. Through the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, seige of Beirut and masscre of Palestinians, the Saudi diplomacy was probably confined to pressurizing the US Administration to sack the then Secretary of State Alexander Haig who was considered aggressively pro-Israeli and to get the Israelis to restore the water, electricity and medicine supplies to beseiged Palestinians.

Behind the scene, the Saudis continued to lobby for the Fahd Plan, which was ultimately endorsed by the reconvened Arab Summit in September 1982. Now named the Fez Plan, it retained the content and format of the original plan with only a few alterations. It contained the same eight points, though the PLO was explicitly mentioned ; the controversial

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article seven was retained with the addition "...including an independent Palestine state" and the Security Council was entrusted with implementing the plan.[20]

Through the infighting among the Palestinians and the virtual civil war in Lebanon, the Saudis could be clearly discerned to be putting together a fragile structure of moderate Arab consensus involving Arafat, King Hussein, President Mubarak and themselves.

CONCLUSIONS

Saudi Arabia is an extremely narrow-based political system and an extremely affluent economy as a consequence of its possession of vast amounts of a strategically vital commodity—oil. Allowing for a participatory political system and striving for an independent foreign policy could have been one choice in these circumstances. Saudi Arabia, however, has opted for "a special relationship" with the United States which could guarantee the Saudi regime without in any way helping the forces of change—internal or external.

In the recent years, the United States Administration has actively pursued the "Strategic Consensus" to keep the Gulf and its oil secure for the Western interests. Reagan has also proposed the "Reagan Peace Plan "to solve the Arab-Israel problem.

The new direction in Saudi Arabia's foreign policy needs to be understood in this context. The Gulf Cooperation Council and the Fahd Peace Plan are seemingly Saudi initiatives. But they are also the half-way houses for the United States' political and strategic programmes.

The Saudi option, in any case, leaves much to be desired as far as the Saudi regime's survival is concerned. Its foreign policy is bedevilled by the cruel dilemma of preserving the country's political credibility in the region and maintianing the close connections with the United States which compromise the rulers in the eyes of their own people and embarass them before the fellow Arab countries. On the other hand, the United States commitment to Saudi Arabia is only one ingredient in its policy towards the region ; its own economic, strategic, long-term political interests and its commitment to Isreal greatly outweighing it.

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CHAD : FROM CIVIL STRIFE TO BIG POWER RIVALRY

By KOLA OLUFEMI*

Beginning from 1980 when Libyan tanks first rolled into Chad, international interest and involvement in its 18-year old civil war has been mounting. As the sputtering war erupted with renewed ferocity in summer 1983, the scope and intensity of external involvement became bewildering. France, the erstwhile gendarme *of Francophone Africa and Chad's former (?) colonial master despatched hundreds of paratroopers with sophisticated weapons to N'Djamena.*[1] *Apparently disturbed by what looked like an initial foot-dragging in Paris, the Reagan Administration, in a tough move directly committed the United States into the war. Apart from the offer of a $10m military aid package, it also sent its* Redeye *anti-aircraft missiles, F-15 fighters and two AWACS radar planes to back the forces of President Hissene Habre. As a corrolary, the United States aircraft carrier* Eisenhower *also steamed around the Mediterranean just off the coast of Libya.*[2]

In its reaction, the Soviet Union described the American posturing as a "proof that NATO powers are openly interfering in Chad's sovereign affairs" while the Chinese Foreign Minister called on the local war lords to "prevent super power meddling and sabotage."[3]

From these accounts therefore, what until recently, was a smouldering civil strife with international implications "has become a cosmopolitan war with local complications" and Chad, carrying the unenviable distinction of being the "poorest country of the poorest continent" has emerged as a potential hotbed of super power rivalry in the continent. The present developments have, in effect, confirmed the fears expressed in 1977 by Major Wadel Kamougue, then Chad's Foreign Minister, about the possibitity of the country becoming a "strategic-region" that "could easily lead to big power rivalry."[4]

In spite of the recent developments, the genesis, development and the external complications of the Chadian conflict remain obscure and unappreciated. What then, is the trouble with Chad ? How and why did external forces get involved ? What efforts have been made to resolve the conflicts and what are the implications of all these for the country. These are some of the issues discussed in this paper with a view to contributing to the greater awareness of the nature of the conflicts in Chad and the external interests and issues that have now come to overlay them.

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ACTIVE FRENCH INVOLVEMENT

Legacy of French Colonialism

CHAD was colonised by France late in the 19th Century, and like most colonial territories in Africa, it was carved out as a patchwork of diverse ethnic and religious units, Covering an area of 1,284,000 sq. kms., the country is inhabited by roughly 4.5 million people with a geographic division between Muslims in the North and non-Muslims (predominantly animist and Christian) in the South. The Northern Province of Boukou-Ennedi-Tibesti (BET) holds roughly three-quarters of the population comprising the Toubou tribesmen, who live in desert wastelands, while the Sara tribe predominates in the South. With this diverse, competitive socio-cultural and religions composition, Chad typifies the Sahel region which is the meeting place of the Maghreb with Black Africa.[5]

During colonial rule, and through the infamous "assimilation" policy, French cultural values were successfully diffused in the South especially amongst the Sudistes of the Sara tribe who were exposed to the Western educational and religious influences. In the North, however, where Islam had long taken firm roots before colonial conquest, these influences did not make any appreciable impact. In addition, the BET province was never directly and effectively administered and was generally neglected by the colonial government. Consequently, the South "developed" at the expense of the North in terms of infrastructural and social facilities leading to the backwardness and alienation of the latter and this naturally nurtured deep-seated North-South cleavages.[6]

At independence, political power was transferred to the Southern Sudiste *evolues* who began to water the seeds of conflict already sown by the French. As was the fashion in post-colonial Africa, Chad veered towards a one party dictatorship when Ngarta Tombalbaye's government proscribed opposition parties in 1962. It further embarked on a policy of large-scale repression culminating in the purge and arrest of Northern leaders. Added to these were the stark maladministration, inefficiency, corruption and coercion, tax grievances and discontent over cotton prices which gradually led to generalised dissidence within the country. By the mid 1960s, this discontent had metamorphosed into more concrete forms of opposition which began to threaten the fragile centre-periphery *status-quo* inherited at independence. It was in this situation of things that the Front for the Liberation of Chad (FROLINAT) emerged in 1966.[7]

At its inception, FROLINAT comprised of leading elements from the disbanded political parties : *the Mouvement Socialist Africaine*, the *Union Nationae Tehadiene* and the National African Party (PNA) which drew support predominantly from the North. Coming at the time it did, the Front easily rode on the tide of and became the expression of popular

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opposition to the authority in N'Djamena. It promptly declared war in the southern-dominated administration and by 1968, the insurgence had become so intense that the French Government had to rush troops to N'Djamena (then Fort Lamy) to prop the tottering regime of Tombalbaye.[8]

The FROLINAT was based in Sudan, which was its major, backer in the 1960s, though it also enjoyed sympathy and support of other North African countries— notably Algeria and Libya. However, when Muammar Qaddafi came to power in 1969, Libya became its major base and patron and with Qaddafi's pronounced support, the Front waxed in strength.

From the early 1970s, however, serious leadership crisis began to disrupt the movement. This resulted, from among other factors, interpersonal rivalries, ethnic and ideological divisions, all of which led to a gradual splinterization of the Front. The situation appeared to stabilize for some time when Oueddei Goukhouni and Hissene Habre emerged to lead the movement in turns. Again, these two war lords later fell apart and Habre went ahead to form his *Forces Armees du Nord* (FAN). Despite these schisms, the existence of an inept administration in N'Djamena still provided a ground for common opposition.[9] General Felix Malloum who pushed Tombalbaye out of office in 1975 through a military *coup* did not assuage the opposition despite the rhetorics and attempt at national reconciliation.

Under the aegis of Nigeria in March 1979, the various national factions reached an agreement which led to the exit of Malloum and ushered in a Provisional State Council. Before long, however, the Chadian crisis assumed a different dimension when the agreement broke down and snowballed into a fiery competition amongst the rival war bands for the control of the capital.[10] With this development, the conflict which started as a struggle between the North (represented by FROLINAT) against the southern-dominated authority in N'Djamena assumed the flame of a fratricidal warfare. The situation was further complicated by the involvement of foreign, notably France, Libya, and more recently the United States. As the factions fought to gain and consolidate positions within the country, they sought external military, financial and diplomatic support and this provoked foreign intervention which grew ineluctably leading to the current impasse in Chad.

French Interests in Chad

France is one of the major foreign powers whose involvement and presence in Chad has been most prolonged and controversial. Despite the fact that it has had its fingers burnt so many times in the Chadian conflict, France has times again demonstrated that it is in no hurry to leave the country.

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Chad Is of intrinsic value for France not only as a former colony but as a state that is at the heart of Francophone Africa, and given France's military, strategic and economic interests in the region, its location offers a central base from which these can be overlooked. To this end, it constructed a strategic air-base in N'Djamena and placed there a parachute company with hundreds of military advisers.[11] It also maintained an armoured squadron of the 6th Interarm Overseas Regiment which, according to one time French Defence Minister, M. Messmer, makes it possible "at any moment for France to transport a regiment of paratroopers to any province in Africa to honour the defence agreements which France has concluded."[12] Apart from its base in Djibouti, French military bases in N'Djamena and Sarh constitute its second largest military presence in Africa.[13]

To complement its military and strategic objectives, France signed three military and defence pacts with Chad in 1960, 1964 and 1976. The pacts provided for French military aid in return for Chadian facilities. For instance, under the 1976 Treaty (which France still regards as valid despite GUNT's claim that it had been abrogated in 1978), France would provide training for pilots and mechanics and increased military assistance, while French aircraft would enjoy staging and overflying rights.[14]

Despite Chad's economic marginality, France has also had considerable economic interests in the country which is the biggest producer of eotton in the Franc Zone. Production and trade in cotton, on which Chad depended for 75 per cent of its foreign exchange earnings, were in the hands of *Cotton Chad*—a subsidiary of the French Company for the Development of Textile Fibres. Between 1971 and 1978, *Cotton Chad* bled a profit of $44.6 million out of Chad.[15] Besides cotton, France is also intrested in Chad's mineral resources which include petroleum and deposits of other strategic minerals like uranium, cassiterite and natron. A French company, *Chevron* (including Exxon Continental Oil from US) had begun exploration in the early 1970s. For all these, France has been playing a "waiting game" in Chad and has managed to get itself ensnared in the infernal war.

Like the local disputants themselves, French policy is largely opportunistic and its behaviour has been correspondingly ambivalent. It has refrained from committing itself to any faction but has supported whichever controlled N'Djamena.[16] For example, after supporting Goukhouni when he was at the head of the GUNT in N'Djamena, France has again switched to Habre after he seized power in 1982. As the war intensified in summer 1983, Paris quickly fell back on the 1976 Treaty to mount an arms build-up behind Habre in N'Djamena, and at the same time called for a negotiated settlement.[17] This somewhat contradictory posture is attributable to a number of political, diplomatic and strategic issues which the *Elysee* had to contend with in its policy towards Chad. First is the

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opposition in Paris especially from the communists in the governing coalition who have reacted against "neo-colonial" interventions.[18] Second, there is the Libyan factor. Before 1978, France was the third major exporter to Libya and, though relations were later ruptured, both sides seem eager to please each other again. In this regard, French Foreign Minister, Claude Cheysson visited Tripoli in June 1982 while his Libyan counterpart was also in Paris in April 1983.[19]

In spite of these constraints, however, French strategic objectives appear to have dictated a recourse to military intervention. This need arose in view of an incipient inter-imperial rivalry between it and the United States in the Sahel. While the French were caught vacillating over the development in Chad this summer, President Reagan, though claiming that Chad "is not our primary sphere of influence", had swiftly pledged assistance to the forces of President Habre.[20] Washington claimed French acquiesence and support for its action but the French Foreign Minister subtly denounced the move saying US aid was "certainly not sent after consultation with us."[21] A French diplomat was further reported as saying that Paris "couldn't let the Americans simply take over what has been our traditional role in sub-Saharan Africa"—thus confirming French fears over a perceived American encroachment in its "traditional spheres of influence."[22]

These latter considerations—the strategic value of Chad, its potential economic riches and the imperatives of inter-imperial rivalries—have been responsible for France's continued posturing in Chad in the last couple of years.

LIBYA'S ROLE : MAJOR FACTOR IN CHADIAN DYNAMICS

Like other Islamic states of North Africa, Libya had been a sympathiser of the FROLINAT right from its formation but this did not translate into any significant support until Qaddafi came to power. Soon after he became the major sponser of the movement, Libya became the source of arms and a sanctury for FROLINAT guerillas and, as earlier noted, this was responsible for the appreciable in-roads the Front made into Chad from the early 1970s.

Though President Tombalbaye had launched a policy of friendship with Libya in 1972 in a bid to break the back of FROLINAT this did not yield any lasting dividend as Qaddafi renewed support for the Front even on a larger scale, when Malloum came to power in 1975.[23] Since then, Libyan involvement had became a major factor in the Chadian dynamics.

When FROLINAT began to break into factions, Qaddafi also started to rotate his support among the major leaders depending on which of them proved more receptive to Libyan interests.[24] With billions of oil dollars and bewildering stockpile of arms, Qaddafi's involvement in Chad's conflict

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had added further impetus to splinterization of the Front as Libya became a ready-made armoury for the different war bands thatsprouted all over Chad. However, since the Chadian conflicts began to assume intense international and ideological dimension, the contradictions between the principal factions began to sharpen. As Habre moved closer to Western quarters Qaddafi had no option than to stay committed to Goukhouni. What, in any case, are the bases for Libya's involvement in Chad ?

Given his visionary commitment to Pan-Islamic unity, Chad's predominantly Muslim population makes it relevant to Qaddafi's pursuit of Arab nationalism. Besides, the Libyan leader also casts an eye on Chad for two reasons. First, with its central location in the region, Chad is crucial to Qaddafi's quest for a Greater Islamic State of Sahel. It shares common frontiers with Sudan, Central African Republic, Cameroon, Niger, Nigeria and of course, Libya itself. It is in this light that the aborted Libya-Chad merger plan of 1980 should be appreciated.[25] Secondly, given his obsessive ambition to build nuclear weapons, the vast deposit of uranium in the Aouzou strip in Northern Chad constitutes a source of attraction for Qaddafi. It is mainly for this reason that Libya annexed the Aouzou in 1973 justifying its occupation under the 1935 Mussolini-Laval treaty and Tombalbaye's acquiescence in this claim was responsible for the cooling off of relations in the early 1970s.[26]

UNITED STATES COUNTERACTS LIBYA

American connection with the Chadian debacle dates back to 1978 when President Malloum requested for military aid to fight off the mounting wave of FROLINAT insurgence. At that time, the United States Congress did consider a proposal to train Chadian military officers, nevertheless, nothing concrete came from Washington.[27] Actually, the then National Security Adviser to the Carter Administration, Zbigniew Brzezinski had contended that Chad was "not a first line American problem."[28] One major explanation for the White House's policy of non-involvement then was the generally low-keyed African policy of the Carter Administration which was quickly jettisoned as soon as President Reagan came to office.

Then came the Libyan intervention in Chad in 1980 which the United States swiftly and vehemently denounced. Subsequently, relations between Washington and Tripoli worsened and came to a head with the Gulf of Sitra incident in which two Libyan jets were shot down. Coming at a time when US policy had become decidedly hawkish, the United States felt it had to contain the "Quaddafi menace" and with a broader redefinition of "containment" by the Reagan Administration, Washington interpreted the Libyan intervention in Chad as an indirect Soviet expansionist move. This reinforced Reagan's resolve to counteract Libya's activities and in this pursuit, the United States gradually, but

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steadily, inched its way into Chad.[29] First, it increased military assistance to its allies, especially in the Sahel, to enable them not only to defend themselves but also to aet as its surrogates in its obssessive bid to curb the "Soviet-Libyan menance." Under this arrangement, between 1981 and 1982 military aid to Sudan jumped from $30m to $100m while military credits to Egypt also leapt from $550m to $900m. Within the same period, Zaire also reeeived substantial military assistanee from the United States.[30] It was this Washington-Cairo-Khartoum-Kinshasa trail that saw Habre to N.' Djamena in 1982.[31]

It is, perhaps, worth recalling here that even before the revision of US foreign policy linking economic and financial assistance to the granting of military facilities and support, American envoys had toured Zaire, Sudan as well as Gabon, Kenya, Togo and Somalia with promises of additional, mainly military, aid in return for greater efforts to counter what the United States saw as "Soviet influence in Africa."[32] Unfortunately though, these African "friends" of the United States have been the main channels of America's policy towards Chad. They have also exerted some diplomatic muscle in support of Habre (US position) especially at the OAU. For instance, in trying to rationalize Zaire's role in Chad, the Chief Security Adviser to President Mobutu, apparently echoing US views, contended that "the presence of Zaire's forces in Chad constitutes a forward position to prevent the ideological subversion of the USSR against Zaire." Mobutu himself made a shuttle visit to Washington early in 1982 and was reported to have received the gist of US objectives in Chad and secured additional funds for the Zairean armed forces.[33] This, then explains why (i) Zairean troops (which had been hitherto rendered unoperational due to chronic shortages) were the first to arrive in place when the OAU sent a peace-keeping force to Chad and, (ii) why its presence was beefed up even when the peace-keeping operations officially ended in June 1982. It further accounts for the OAU's forces of "neutrality" or "tacit collusion" with FAN forces when Habre was marching on N'Djamena.[34]

The United States further extended covert aid to Habre via the CIA; as much as $10m was reportedly offered. The White House regards Habre as a reliable "Westerner" and has "no confidence" in Goukhouni. It is thus hardly suprising that as soon as Habre installed himself in N'Djamena in 1982, he hastened to send a message to Reagan on American Independence Day expressing a fervent desire for "unity and cooperation."[35]

LIMITS OF AFRICAN SOLUTIONS

From the mid-1970s various attempts have been made, particularly by the neighbouring African states, to mediate in the Chadian conflicts. Countries like Sudan, Nigeria and even Libya and France have offered

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various initiatives at one time or the other. But Chad, as one analyst notes, is a "furnace that burns all who touch it" and virtually all the countries that have attempted mediation in the conflict have had their fingers burnt.[36] Chad in fact, has defied all the solutions offered to the extent that, for some time now, the situation gave the impression of being beyond the comprehension of anyone.

The most prolonged and concrete attempt at resolving the conflict was initiated by Nigeria after the breakdown in February 1979 of the Habre-Malloum Pact which led to an unprecedented state of siege in N'Djamena. Two conferences were convened in the Nigerian city of Kano; these produced agreements to end hostilities, setting up of an interim government and the demilitarization of the capital which was to be monitored by a Nigerian truce force. All these agreements broke down as soon as the disputants left the conference hall. In August, the venue of the peace meetings shifted to Lagos, this time under the auspices of the OAU. Again, the eleven Chadian factions in attendance signed a "Lagos Accord" which provided for the formation of a transitional government of national unity, conduction of elections within 18 months, withdrawal of foreign (predominantly French) forces and their replacement by an inter-African peace force. Subsequently, the *Gouvernment d'Union National de Transition* (GUNT) was formed in November 1979, comprising representatives of the eleven factors that signed the Accord. Goukhouni became the President, Habre, Defence Minister and Kamougue, the Vice President.[37]

Besides the formation of the GUNT however, no other provision of the Accord could be implemented. A most thorny issue was the demilitarization of N'Djamena which was as of then besieged by not less than five large armed bands none of which made a move to leave. This situation gradually brewed a violent competition for the control of the capital and, to make matters worse, the inter-African force billed to act as a buffer did not materialize. Of the three contingents expected, only the Guinean group of about 500 men arrived albeit belatedly, and it was later summarily evacuated in March 1980 when the competition among the rival factions degenerated into full scale armed conflagration.

In response the OAU sent a peace-party, but no sooner than it left than fighting resumed and by this time, the fragile triumvirate of Goukhouni-Habre-Kamougue had fallen apart. In a swift move, Goukhouni relieved Habre of his post as Defence Minister "for reasons of rebellion" and by May, the war had spread to major regions in the country.[38]

As the situation worsened everybody became wary of getting involved in any peace initiative; though the war was discussed at the end of its Economic Summit in Lagos in April 1980, there was no concrete proposals from the OAU until October when its ad-hoc committee (comprising Togo, Congo, Guinea and Benin) organised another round of peace mee-

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tings attended by the major warlords in Lome. An agreement which was a photocopy of past ones was adopted and, not suprisingly, it failed to yield any result except an intensification of Habre's campaigns which forced Goukhouni to call for more Libyan support. Qaddafi subsequently dispatched the "Islamic Legion" armed with sophisticated Soviet tanks and rocket launchers and with this enormous war material N'Djamena was liberated while Habre fled across the Chari river into Cameroon vowing that "the struggle continues."[39]

It was this turn of events, particularly the Libyan intervention, that stunned the United States and its friends in Africa ; they hastily convened an emergency mini-summit of the OAU in Lagos in December 1980 to discuss the situation in Chad. As expected, Libyan "intervention" was the main issue and the summiteers adopted a communique urging that "no foreign troops be stationed in the national territory of Chad except in accordance with the provisions of the Lagos Accord."[40]

Suspicions and antipathy towards Libya were further deepened when Qaddafi announced the Chad-Libya merger plan in January 1981. Though Goukhouni later repudiated the plan, it did send many African states, in and outside Sahel, on a "diplomatic frenzy" which culminated in OAU resolutions, adopted at its 18th summit in Nairobi, demanding the withdrawal of Libyan troops and the sending of an inter-African peace force to Chad.

Despite previous unsuccessful attempts by the OAU at setting up an inter-African force, this time the Libya scare seemed to strengthen its resolve and this was responsible for the unprecedented vigour and purposefulness with which it pursued the idea. Therefore, not long after the initiative was mooted at Nairobi, international (mainly Western) support was being secured. The United States pledged financial assistance and at the Cancun Summit in Mexico, President Mitterand also promised "logistic support".

Thus, with the Inter-African Force coming into shape, Goukhouni was virtually stampeded into asking for the withdrawal of Libyan troops. Besides many African countries were already holding Qaddafi to ransom by trading his chances of hosting the 19th Summit of the OAU for his withdrawal from Chad.[41] Consequent upon these twin pressures, Libyan troops were withdrawn in November 1981 and were later replaced by the Inter-African Force.

In several respects, the OAU's peace-keeping force did little to help the situation in Chad. For one thing, its coming was delayed thereby leaving room for resumption of hostilities and its number was too few as only three of the initial six states actually sent troops. Furthermore, the Force which had the ambivalent "duty to anticipate, contain and temper hostilities in Chad, to put an end to them and to safeguard the security of the Chad State" avoided direct contact with Habre's Army when it renewed

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its bid for N'Djamena. Instead, it maintained a suspicious neutrality and did not prevent the predictable expansion of FAN campaigns thereby providing the "fig leaf of respectability for Habre's march on N'Djamena." In desperation, Goukhouni described the forces' presence as "passive" and "useless" threatening to "call upon extra-African forces." He even went further, perhaps justifiably, to accuse the force of complicity with the rebels.[42]

Furthermore, and from the outset, the force was beset by enormous logistical and financial difficulties. Though the United States and France rendered some "assistance" in this direction, these fell short of the $ 300m required to maintain the force for a year and although the OAU officials contemplated a request for funding by the United Nations, there was no concrete follow.up to the initiative.[43]

As a result of these handicaps, the OAU became ensnared in the conflict; it could not stop the fighting nor leave Chad. In an apparent face-saving move, therefore, the Standing Committee on Chad met in Nairobi in February 1982 and called for immediate cease fire and renewal of negotiations. It further called for the drafting of a constitution, organisation of elections and wanted all these provisions implemented within four months—a time table which the Paris newspaper, *Le Monde* described as a "tight schedule."

While the GUNT attended the meeting, it nevertheless rejected the resolutions charging that its delegation was "pushed to the sidelines" and branded the proceedings as an "absurd scenario." Goukhouni further accused the Committee of denying the N'Djamena Administration (GUNT) the right of a "legitimate government" by reducing the Chadian problems to one of factions. On the contrary, Habre hailed the OAU resolutions as "an enormous victory for the Chadian people and the OAU."[44]

At this juncture, it became obvious that the OAU, through its Standing Committee, had back-pedalled by conferring tacit recognition on Habre and, by implication, watering down its recognition of Goukhouni. This stance of the OAU smacked of blackmail for, while Habre was capturing town after town, pressure was mounted on Goukhouni to negotiate and in fact, Nigeria and indeed the OAU, threatened to withdraw its peace forces as soon as possible. When Habre captured N'Djamena in June 1982, the peace-keeping force was swiftly evacuated.[45]

Despite these attempts at peace-making, the situation in Chad remains that of an "infernal circle of death and destruction." The question thus arises, why did the peace initiatives flop and, by extension why is peace eluding Chad ?

One reason for the failure of all the peace efforts is the deep inter-personal antipathy among the major political factors in the country, especially between Habre and Goukhouni, both of whom incidentally came from the North. Beneath this is the unbridled personal ambitions and opportunism

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of the principal actors. Goukhouni had sentenced Habre to death and the latter once said that Goukhouni "must go-at the end of a rope."[46] Added to these inter-personal rivalries is the high degree of ethnic, religious and ideological cleavages in the country. Chad remains a "huge mosaic of small and splinterized unintegrated ethnicities." Right from colonial times, the control of N'Djamena had never translated into control of the rest of the country and, the nature and instability of central authority has been one of Chad's major weaknesses.[47]

A collosal impediment to peace however is the fact that Chad has become a proxy battleground for the disputes between the United States and Libya on the one hand, and Egypt and Libya on the other. It may also be emerging as the testing ground for the incipient inter-imperial rivalry between the United States and France in the Sahel and more ominously, the echoes of the super powers. As a Tunisian newspaper *La Presse* succintly puts it :

> ...the Chad Civil War har often been and continues to be the scene of...conflicts from which the Chad population is far removed.[48]

United States' involvement, as earlier noted, is a spillover from its feud with Libya and this is the *raison d'etre* for the courtship between Habres the "anti Libya pro-Western good guy" and the White House. Washington, itself justified its adventure in Chad by contending that there was a "grave risk" of Qaddafi using Chad as a base subverting neighbouring states and it has successfully drummed up this Qaddafi-scare to rally round its regional allies in the continent. This is why Zaire, Sudan and Egypt have consistently backed Habre against "Libyan expansionism."[49] On its own part, and besides its bourgeoning role as American foreman in the region, Egypt has for some time kept a cautious eye on Libya. The tension between the two states dates back to the time of President Sadat when relations were strained up to the point of sporadic armed confrontation. Since then, relations between them had progressively deteriorated.[50]

Except for its verbal stance, the Soviet Union has refrained from direct involvement in the conflict. Nevertheless, it remains Qaddafi's major source of arms, and as Goukhouni's incessent and violent attacks on "imperialists" would tend to portray, one cannot but further see the Chadian war in a wider context of East-West rivalry. Moreso, since the United States had firmly pitched its tent with Habre.[51]

Moreover, and unfortunately, the mediation efforts of the OAU have proved particularly unhelpful and self-defeating. After the exit of Libyan troops and their replacement by the Inter-African Force in November 1981, the OAU watched impassively as Habre emerged from his sanctuary in Sudan routing the Chadian towns one after the other under the very nose of the pan-African force. It is doubly unfortunate that the "five wise men", who later met in Nairobi, tacitly approved of Habre's rebellion against the GUNT which was formed under the Lagos Accord. OAU's action and

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inaction, thus, smacks of covert collaboration with the United States in its unbridled campaigns against Qaddafi and, by extension, Goukhouni. The composition of the Standing Committee which met in Nairobi lends credence to this contention. Most of the "five wise men" are not only the pillars of African conservatism but are reliable Western allies and some of them have also been afflicted by the infectious "Libya-phobia." It is in this light that OAU's blunders and the sense of "impotence and guilt" with which it received the escalation of hostilities in Chad early last summer, could be interpreted. It would thus appear, that the OAU has mortgaged its chances of meaningful mediation in the Chadian conflicts.[52]

CONCLUSIONS

In the current debacle in Chad, the principal actors have acted as (and some actually are) clients of outside powers in order to acquire diplomatic and military muscle to make themselves felt within and outside the country. As *West Africa* notes, there are some Chadian elements who "scarcely represent anyone but themselves" and perhaps, their foreign mentors.[53] And as the situation now stands, external involvement has tended to overshadow the internal conflicts. This has been and may continue to be the major impediment to peace. Chad is thus confirming Colin Legum's foreboding that,

> During the 1980s, quarrels within one country or between hostile neighbouring countries are likely to erupt into violent conflicts... such conflicts will affect not only the localities involved, but in many cases also will provoke foreign intervention. This is not to say that Africa will be a passive victim of international power politics. On the contrary, African factions will actively seek foreign military and economic assistance to bolster fragile positions as they have frequently done already.In short, the outlook for Africa in the 1980s is for continued internationalisation of predictable local conflicts.[54]

Despite its economic insignificance, Chad has become and will remain a fulcrum of foreign intervention and, oddly enough, of big power rivalry. With the revival of cold-war politics and the sharpening of contradictions within Chad itself, all forecasts point to continued internationalization of the local conflicts. For one thing, the number of actors (local and external) has grown consistently and the network of coalitions has equally widened. Various national factions and fractions have entered into complex alliances with foreign interests. The twin effects of these developments are

(i) the alarming rate of militarization and

(ii) the intensification of disintegration in Chad. When these are laced up with the ethnic, ideological and interpersonal frictions, dissidence and

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violence acquire the status of cultural norms and Chad becomes a gun-runners delight.

All things considered, it looks extremely doubtful whether there can be peace in Chad in the foreseeable future ; the major challenge to Africa then is how to divest the Chadian crisis of its external entanglements.

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INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY INITIATIVES

IN an interview to a news agency, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi had stated on one occasion that India would strive to establish friendly and cooperative relations with both the Super Powers, USA and USSR. He had further said that India would work for regional peace and stability while upholding fully the principles of non-alignment. In this context, he sought the cooperation of USA and USSR to defuse global tension.

It is important to note that while India works for a peaceful regional environment, it is inconceivable that this goal could be achieved without a cordial relationship between the two Super Powers. In India's perception, the recently concluded first round summit meeting between the US President Reagan and the Soviet Leader Gorbachov is a development towards the goal of global peace and order. Just over a year ago, in a broadcast to the nation, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi had declared that his government would continue to pursue India's basic foreign policy bequeathed to "us" by Jawaharlal Nehru and so creditably enriched by Shrimati Indira Gandhi. Elaborating his statement, he had said that India is particularly interested in friendly relations with the East and the West, and wants to carry on the crusade against the global arms race. Having said that he reaffirmed India's search for cordial relationship with its South Asian neighbours including China. India, he said, can pursue the efforts to promote a dialogue between the North and the South with a view to build a just international economic order.

If one goes by this pronouncement and the developments during the last one year it would appear that both internally as well as externally, India has done reasonably well. It has been taking foreign policy initiatives not only at the regional/continental level but also at the global level. These foreign policy initiatives have been supported by a dynamic domestic policy that has been stressing the need for national integrity and development. The Punjab and the Assam Accords are some of the positive steps in this regard.

What then are the objectives of India's foreign policy in operation? India's foreign policy priorities as perceived by its policy makers—from the standpoint of its national interests—may be structured around three concentric circles of contextional priorities, *viz.*, (i) national integrity, political stability and economic development; (ii) regional stability and cooperation; and (iii) a just and stable international political and economic order. In many ways, these elements provide the operational code of India's foreign policy. The making of India's foreign policy is a function of reconciling the pulls and pressures of these three sets of national objec-

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tives, arranged in three concentric circles. The policy of non-alignment as pursued by India is designed to achieve this balance.

The last one year of Rajiv Gandhi's Prime Ministership would indicate, he has taken some meaningful steps towards the realization of the above goals. India's foreign policy under him has been active and designed to tackle some of the pressing international issues of the day.

I

Since November 1984, when Rajiv Gandhi assumed the office of Prime Minister, India's activity on the international scene has been increasing by leaps and bounds. First, India has been concerned about the ethnic and general developmental problems in South Asia, and making cooperative efforts towards the realization of a viable system of regional peace and cooperation. Secondly it has been playing a leading role in the NAM for the rectification of the ongoing distortions within the international system.

The five-nations state visit in June this year of the Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has been a resounding success at both a personal as well as national level. In all the countries that Rajiv Gandhi had visited—Egypt, Algeria, France, USA and Switzerland—he was able to exude personal charm, disarming candour and a sense of humour even while dealing with some of the serious subject matters of the day. Its no wonder that the Indian Prime Minister was able to establish better rapport with various leaders of the countries that he visited. This visit has provided a solid ground work for closer cooperation in various fields with those countries.

Summing up the tour, while talking to Indian newsmen at Geneva, Rajiv Gandhi had said that "the first steps had been taken in improving our relations with all the countries concerned and especially in sorting out the differences we have on various issues." Indeed, conducting the personal diplomacy, Rajiv Gandhi was able to demonstrate certain finesse.

In Moscow he had no difficulty in renewing an old understanding despite the changes in the political leadership of India and the USSR. Rajiv Gandhi's visit to the USSR got off like a breeze. The Rajiv-Gorbachov Summit not only reaffirmed but further developed the many dimensions of closer and warm relationship between the two countries. Two major economic agreements were concluded. In a message on the occasion of the presentation of the 1984 Sovietland Nehru Awards, Rajiv Gandhi had aptly described "Indo-Soviet ties" as "a model."

Admittedly, the Indian Prime Minister's visit to France dominated the second phase of his visits abroad, but this in no way takes away the significance of his visits to Egypt and Algeria. Rajiv Gandhi's addresses to the UNESCO in Paris and to the ILO at Geneva tend to come under a

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different category in the sense they did not constitute a part of the state visit.

Rajiv Gandhi's visit to France was very fruitful. Despite the fact that France belongs to the Western Alliance System, definite accords have been reached between France and India. In some ways, this visit established a new link between non-aligned India and the Western Alliance partner France. The Indo-French Accords cover not only trade and commerce but also include defence, technology transfer, nuclear research, etc.

The visit to Egypt symbolised the renewal of friendship between India and Egypt. The Joint Communique issued after the visit was marked by an identity of Indo-Egyptian views on vital global issues. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and President Hosni Mubarak reviewed the explosive West Asian setting and considered measures that the NAM could take to defuse the Iraq-Iran War.

From Egypt, Rajiv Gandhi came over to Algeria. He was personally received at the airport by the Algerian President Benjedid. This was an unusual gesture. Perhaps, for the first time an Algerian Head of State made such a gesture to a non-Arab Prime Minister. While the two leaders agreed that the relations between the two countries have been always good, they stressed the need for enlarging the economic ties between India and Algeria. In the light of this agreement, India was to buy half a million tonnes of oil from Algeria in exchange for its assistance in setting up projects in the field of science and technology. In this context Gandhi had underlined the need for overcoming bilateral differences among the non-aligned states.

Since 1947 Indo-US relations have been marked by ups and down, but there has hardly been a time when India was at the receiving end of so much goodwill and respect from the United States as during Rajiv Gandhi's visit to that country in June this year. In course of their meeting the United States' President and the Indian Prime Minister were able to sort out the areas of mutual differences with great understanding and cordiality. For good measure, Rajiv Gandhi did extract a commitment from the United States Administration for dealing with the international dimensions of terrorist violence aimed at India's unity and integrity. There was also greater appreciation of India's policy of non-alignment, its known stand on the Afghanistan question, the Indian Ocean and the nuclear non-proliferation treaty.

There are also evidences to suggest that Rajiv Gandhi succeeded in impressing upon the United States Administration that the process of "opening up the economy" could not be absolute because of large masses of poor people in the country whose very existence called for protection from market forces.

Be that as it may, despite the much greater enthusiasm over the US visit, the Joint Statement issued in Washington and New Delhi is much

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thinner in content than the one issued after Rajiv Gandhi's talks with the Soviet leaders. Taking this opportunity Rajiv Gandhi clearly conveyed to the American people and Government that India was nobody's puppet and was free from any Super Power dictates.

The Prime Minister's visit ended almost as it had commenced with strong support for the United Nations System and the specialised agencies. While in Paris, Rajiv Gandhi spoke at UNESCO and expressed India's commitment to that organisation. On the last leg, at Geneva, he addressed the International Labour Organisation and spoke for joint international endeavours for peace and prosperity.

Quite in line with India's policy of non-alignment, Rajiv Gandhi appealed for renewed commitment to the principles of the United Nations Charter. Rajiv Gandhi was indeed reflecting the sentiment of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

II

Since October this year, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has had another round of fruitful foreign visits dealing with pressing bilateral as well as global issues of the day. His visits covered the three continents—Asia, Europe and America. The Indian Prime Minister was able to put forward India's views on questions of global peace and stability, disarmament and development, need for a dialogue between the two Super Powers, and the countries of the North and South, and an early end to South Africa's racialist policy and international terrorism.

Addressing the United Nation's 40th anniversary session Rajiv Gandhi had said : "Let us cure the world of the insanity of nuclear militarism. Let us fight against the shame of starvation in a world of plenty." He gave a call of solidarity with the freedom fighters of South Africa and Namibia. The Indian Prime Minister further asserted that there could be no peace in Asia till Palestinians secured their legitimate right to a state of their own in their homeland. Reference was also made by him to the menacing global arms race that has been further complicated by the search for new space weapons conceived as the ultimate deterrents. Thus the world drifts helplessly towards a nuclear holocaust.

In response to this burnning issue, six non-aligned nations led by India proposed to the Super Powers a 12-month moratorium on nuclear weapons tests. The NAM nations also offered to monitor all underground tests by installing sensitive devices on the test sites of the two Super Powers to ensure strict observance. The six-nation proposal emerged from a meeting in New York on 23 October 1985 between Rajiv Gandhi, his Swedish counterpart, Olaf Palme, and senior officials representing Mexico, Argentina, Tanzania and Greece. Later the heads of government of the countries who were represented by officials, also approved of the

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proposals. This meeting was a follow up of summit meeting of the six nations held in New Delhi last January.

India also took an initiative for a North-South Summit. This Summit was to provide the developed and developing nations a chance for an informal exchange on various economic matters which have been causing great concern to both. This Summit has been reportedly conceived on lines similar to the one held by the late Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in 1983.

In the course of his visit to America and Europe, Rajiv Gandhi was reported to have very nearly pulled off a diplomatic *coup*—through his quiet initiative—that might have changed the complexion of the upcoming talks between the two Super Powers. It has been noted by some analysts that Rajiv Gandhi's mystery stopover in Moscow (on his way back home) was part of a move to bring about a measure of understanding between the Dutch and the Soviets on cruise missiles. Presumably, Prime Minister Gandhi was carrying a message from the Dutch Prime Minister to the Soviet leader Gorbachov. However the move fell through because of the differences within the Dutch Government.

Even earlier, according to diplomatic sources, Rajiv Gandhi was said to have played a key role in bringing the Soviet Union and the US closer to finding a negotiated settlement of the Afghan problem. It seems, Rajiv Gandhi was evidently able to convince the Russians that the United States wanted a political settlement and was not interested in bleeding the Soviets in Afghanistan.

III

In the course of his transcontinental trip, Rajiv Gandhi had exchange of views with a large number of heads of states and governments at the UN forum and also with some of them at the Commonwealth Summit at Nassau (Bahamas). Their discussions related to bilateral and international issues. While visiting Britain, Rajiv Gandhi explained India's concern over the anti-India extremist activities. He also pointed out the imbalances in economic exchanges and the consular immigration problems faced by Indian nationals.

Rajiv Gandhi was the first Indian Prime Minister to visit Cuba. His talks with President Castro covered an extensive area. While returning, as stated above, he visited Netherlands and had meaningful talks with the Dutch Prime Minister. Rajiv Gandhi appreciated Netherland's positive stand towards developing countries and the North-South dialogue.

Attending the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) at Nassau (Bahamas) in last October, almost all the 46 nations criticised the world's financial and trading system and voiced concern and

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dissatisfaction at the lending criteria of the World Bank and the IMF. In particular, criticism was directed at the rising tide of conditionality of these two financial institutions. The Indian Prime Minister in his address to this Commonwealth Summit criticised the protectionist measures being adopted by the Western countries, especially the USA. Gandhi also noted that financial flows to the developing world were being curtailed, bringing a new dimension to economic instability.

In keeping with its tradition of functioning, the Commonwealth Summit at Nassau was able to overcome its differences over sanctions against the racialist Pretoria regime. The Nassau Declaration listed a set of recommendations to the Commonwealth members themselves and the rest of the world, for "agreed mandatory measures" against South Africa. While UK and Canada were reluctant to carry out the recommendations, the very fact that they had subscribed to the Nassau Accord represents a clear advance on their earlier stand. Hence, it is a gain for the fight against apartheid and South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia. The aim of the CHOGM was to isolate South Africa and to that goal the means adopted were a mixture of economic sanctions and psychological pressures. A three member Committee has been decided to be formed to confer with South Africa and report back to the Commonwealth Secretariat on how to deal with the problem of apartheid.

On India's initiative an *ad hoc* panel of foreign ministers was set up to prepare a declaration on the need for world order in the context of growing threats from international terrorism to national sovereignty. Prime Minister Gandhi, who took a leading role in the debate on South Africa, stressed the need for a time frame for resolving the problem.

IV

On his return from the trip to Europe and America, Rajiv Gandhi went to Vietnam in November. This was the first visit by an Indian Prime Minister to Hanoi since Nehru went there in 1954. In many ways, this has been of great significance not only to the two countries but also to the Asian region and the great powers who have been closely monitoring it. Faced with acute developmental problems (with the International Monetary Fund and the Asian Development Bank having cut off credit on account of non-payment and mismanagement of loans), Vietnam has turned towards India for help.

The economic package put out by the Indo-Vietnamese Joint Commission during the Indian Prime Minister's visit symbolises South-South cooperation. India's aid runs into one lakh tonnes of wheat, 20 crore in new credit and rescheduling of loans to help in the exploration of oil and tin prospecting. India has also agreed to help Vietnam modernise its rail-

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ways. Rajiv's visit underscores the continuing developments of Indo-Vietnamese friendship and cooperation.

Later on, going further east, Rajiv opened a new chapter in Indo-Japanese bilateral relations. The two countries have decided on concrete measures for high level technical and economic collaboration between India and Japan to build up a secure base for their lasting political understanding. The Japanese have agreed to transfer sophisticated technology in the industrial field. There has been an announcement for a fresh credit of Rs. 160 crores (30 billion yen) to help India to generate electricity from gas in Assam through the turbine technology.

Aside from this, Japan has agreed to transfer technology to India to modernise its steel industry. The Prime Ministers of the two countries have decided to meet to discuss the question of setting up joint projects in third countries. Stress has been also made on the need to strengthen Indo-Japanese cultural relations. What is more, they agreed to organise a Festival of India in Japan and a Japanese Week in India.

As for the political field, the Japanese Prime Minister praised India's leadership of the Non-Aligned Movement In addition, aside from discussing the issues of Kampuchea, Iraq-Iran War and Afghanistan, the two leaders considered the US-Soviet Summit at Geneva as a good starting point for strategic arms limitations.

V

India's relations with its neighbours have been marked by an overall process of confidence building, though, it must be admitted that the process has been complicated by some outstanding issues. Generally speaking, four elements, have bedevilled Indo-Pakistan relations during the last 38 years. First, it relates to Pakistan's revival of its security relations with the United States in 1980. Secondly, India is still perceived by Pakistan as its greatest security threat (notwithstanding the Soviet military presence in Afghanistan). Thirdly, there is Pakistan's desperate search for a nuclear weapons capability. Lastly, Pakistan's encouragement to Sikh terrorists and seccessionists to the detriment of India's territorial integrity.

India does not anticipate any immediate change in Pak policy on these counts, nevertheless, it has tended to pursue a policy of reconciliation with Islamabad for meaningful bilateral relations. In recent months Rajiv Gandhi has offered to discuss all issues with Pakistan including signing of a friendship treaty.

As for China, Rajiv Gandhi has reiterated that the border question is central to the Sino-India relationship but could take time to be resolved. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi had talks with his Chinese counterpart, Zhao Ziyang at New York at the time of the 40th anniversary of the UN

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this October. Both these leaders have felt that the Sino-Indian border question is "not an unsurmountable problem."

The sixth round of the Sino-India border talks took place in New Delhi in November. While no headway was made in these talks, the two countries decided to discuss in detail the central and western sectors in the next round to be held in Beijing next year. However, the two sides did achieve the removal of an irritant in bilateral relations by resolving the issue of Indian Embassy property in Beijing seized by the Chinese in 1967. The question of compensation was also sorted out. What is more China and India decided to exchange delegations in computer industries, agriculture, education, plasma physics, laser technology or biotechnology. Some proposals were made in the field of cultural exchanges. It was also agreed to organise a Joint Seminar in Beijing on socio-economic plannning in India and China.

Despite the facile expectations in some quarters in India it is inconceivable that complete normalization of relations with China can be reached in the foreseeable future. The process of normalization with China would have to follow on a step by step basis. The two countries should slowly proceed with those specific areas of common interests (political, economic and cultural) on which they could interact easily and thereby create a favourable climate for the final resolution of the border question.

During his recent sojourn in New York, Rajiv Gandhi had very friendly discussions with President Ershad. There has been tremendous progress in the efforts of the two countries to resolve the Ganga Waters dispute. The Indian Prime Minister has also appreciated the problem of fencing India's border with Bangladesh. In his view something better needs to be worked out to stop infiltration.

Regarding Bhutan, Rajiv Gandhi stressed the need for closer ties between India and Bhutan. The Prime Minister assured the people of Bhutan in his recent visit there that India's involvement in Bhutan's development programme should not be considered as aid but as one of "sharing of resources for common benefit."

With regard to Sri Lanka, India has taken the initiative to bring about a reconciliation between the Tamil minorities living there and the Sri Lankan Government. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has advocated for political settlement of the ethnic question. Through its good offices India is trying to bring the two sides to the negotiating table.

India's relations with Nepal continues to remain politically close and economically meaningful. For India, Nepal has a strategic importance. It is in India's interest to see Nepal develop as a politically stable and economically viable country. While there are a number of joint river projects and India provides technical knowhow and economic aid to Nepal, closer interaction between the two countries can be sustained through a more liberal political climate in the Himalayan Kingdom. While

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this is Nepal's domestic matter, nevertheless because of its spillover effects, the Indian Government may like to see a forward looking political change there.

VI

Leaders of seven South Asian nations wrote a new chapter in the history of the region this December when at a Summit in Dhaka they pledged to cooperate for the economic benefit of about one billion people. Thus amidst the euphoria of a new era of amity these leaders concluded the first regional summit by adopting the Charter and the "Dhaka Declaration" for regional cooperation in a regional association—South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), thereby marking a turning point in the history of the region. It was hoped that the SAARC would go a long way in initiating a meaningful process of understanding, fraternity and cooperation among the seven regional states.

The summit reaffirmed its deep conviction in the continuing validity and relevance of the objectives of the NAM as an important force in international relations. These nations declared their commitment to the United Nations, which, the Declaration said, constituted the most important forum for resolving of all issues affecting international peace and amity. The declaration expressed concern about the alarming escalation of the arms race, particularly nuclear weapons. The South Asian nations hoped that the recent Summit between US President Reagan and the Soviet leader Gorbachov would have a positive effect on international peace and security.

The Summit drew attention to the deteriorating economic and social conditions which had retarded development prospects in South Asia and other developing countries. There was also concern about diminishing capacity of global financial and technical institutions to respond effectively to the needs of the poorer countries. They regretted the vanishing spirit of multilateralism. The South Asian nations affirmed the need to urgently resume the North South dialogue and convene a global conference on money and finance for development with participation open to all. A temporary SAARC Secretariat has been set up at Dhaka.

Thus, to the extent that SAARC has now been provided an institutional base, the South Asian nations have demonstrated the possibilities of more structured cooperation in the region. However, the Indian approach towards South Asian cooperation has been tempered by pragmatic considerations. Clarifying India's position, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi had earlier stated that the South Asian nations should temper their enthusiasm with pragmatism and initiative with consensus. Consequently, the South Asian nations have sought to fit regional cooperation into their respective foreign policies. Thus, modalities have been evolved, so that

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bilateral stresses and strains do not put constraints on regional cooperation. In many ways, by supporting the concept of collective self-reliance, the SAARC strengthens the forces of multilateralism and world-wide cooperation.

Needless to add, the profound sentiments forcefully expressed in the Dhaka Declaration, and the SAARC Charter can be given substance only by concrete action by member nations. It is however encouraging to note that all the seven leaders have openly and firmly pledged their fullest support to strengthen the unique experiment in regard to cooperation.

In a larger sense SAARC can also be a guiding force for peace and stability in the tension-ridden region. However, it has been India's standpoint, while continuing exchange of views may help reduce bilateral tension and conflict, people's involvement and active participation alone can give real meaning to the programme outlined at Dhaka. At the Dhaka Summit, Rajiv Gandhi maintained what was feasible in South Asia under the circumstances, without being carried away by the high blown rhetoric of the moment.

Looking at it from India, the just concluded first ever summit of seven South Asian countries, which was described as historic and successful by the attending leaders, have allayed many fears and misapprehensions. The painstaking efforts made by seven nations during the last five years clearly demonstrated that leaders would agree on collective self-reliance and find common ground on many other matters of regional interests. Admittedly there are areas of conflicts. Nevertheless, the present Summit yielded some positive results, even if SAARC is a modest venture Rajiv Gandhi rightly said it is a new dawn.

Needless to overstress that foreign policy is an extension of domestic requirements and compulsions. It is no wonder, since Operation Bluestar in June 1984 followed by the assassination of Mrs. Gandhi in October 1984, the Indian policy makers have been particularly concerned about the dangers of destabilization within the country as a result of covert and overt activities of the terrorist elements. These activities have been allegedly aided and abetted by certain external powers. It is to counter these terrorist activities in particular, and their spillover effects within the country in general that the Indian Government has taken initiatives to persuade many of these powers (e.g. UK, USA, Canada and also Pakistan) to desist from providing any kind of moral or material sustenance to acts of violence.

Thanks to the Indian efforts, it appears during the recent months Canada and United States have tightened the measures to curb the anti-Indian hostile activities indulged by the extremists residing in these countries. During the recent bilateral talks between the Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and the British Prime Minister Mrs. Thatcher, the British Government agreed to examine the extension of the scope of the Suppres-

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sion of Terrorism Act to cover incitement to violence against India by the resident Indians. Indian foreign policy initiatives in this context are designed to achieve peace and stability within the country with a view to underwrite national integrity.

By pursuing the fundamentals of the policy of non-alignment India has been able to retain its independence of action regarding a wide spectrum of foreign policy issues. India has consciously attempted to enter into consultations with countries of both the West and East with a view to developing closer bilateral relations with them. This move is backed by the Indian attempts to maintain the best of relations with the two Super Powers and to help them in reducing their mutual tension in the wake of the new cold war. India has welcomed the recent summit meeting between the US President Reagan and the Soviet leader Gorbachov.

Rajiv Gandhi has been able to leave his mark on international diplomacy. Under his tactful conduct, India's foreign policy has become vibrant and meaningful. India believes that the progress of mankind cannot be ensured through the efforts of a select group of nations. The task calls for strengthening the world body. In a recent message on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the United Nations, Rajiv Gandhi reiterated India's support to the world body and pointed out that it had been an integral part of Indian foreign policy. India, he said, believed that nations must come together to avert war to lift mankind out of the shadow of war. And he underlined that this could be brought about only through the efforts of the UN and its agencies.

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THE ATTLEE GOVERNMENT AND THE PARTITION OF INDIA

A Review Article

BRITAIN divided India into two separate countries. The question is how did this Partition come about ? Did it lie in the logic of history ? Did Indian leaders foresee it ? How is it that Indian leaders, able and with honourable reputations, did not succeed in averting this crisis which was to subvert the unity of India fostered by a century and half of British rule. The Partition was surely a setback ! How stronger, more vital, and highly influential would India have been without Partition ?

The question of the solution of the Indian problem and thereby of Partition has exercised the minds of leading historians interested in the study of the Indian National Movement and the partition of the country. The task is a challenging one ! The event is recent, the sources vast, and prejudices strong. Any work on a sensitive theme like this tends to become partisan. A partisan work is one where the historian tends to convince others and not himself. One of the difficulties lying before a historian in dealing with a theme like this is to decide whence he should start his analysis. The author of the present work under review* begins his study from the last decade of British rule. To the author the problem is not so much political or communal, but constitutional and imperial and to it he devotes his entire study.

This work attempts to analyse the "evolution of Labour's policies to solve the many-sided Indian problems." The author claims a "major revision to extant accounts of the contributions of Clement Attlee and Sir Stafford Cripps to the successful Indian chapter in the saga of European decolonisation."

Simon Commission Introduces Separate Electorates

The starting point of the story is the Simon Commission, appointed in November 1927, of which Attlee was one of the seven parliamentary delegates visiting India. Though the Indian political parties boycotted the Commission, which led to widespread agitation, it proved highly significant as it was under the Simon Proposals that India was ruled until the war. The Simon Report offered two choices—either separate electorates everywhere on the basis of population, thus obtaining Muslim majorities in Punjab and Bengal but abolishing weightage elsewhere, or the abolition of

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* R.J. Moore : *Escape from Empire : The Attlee Government and the Indian Problem* (Oxford, 1983), pp. x, 376.

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separate electorates in Punjab and Bengal but the retention of weightage in Hindu provinces. According to the author, the 1935 Act gave to the Muslims the best of both the worlds—the minorities retained weightage, while in Bengal (where the Europeans held 10 per cent of the seats) the Muslims secured 48.6 per cent and in the provinces a virtual statutory majority of 51.4 per cent. The Muslims thus acquired a majority in north-west and eastern India and thus in the provinces they gained importance disproportionate to their numbers which was to have portentious consequences in 1947.

Attlee was deeply interested in the Indian problem. He opposed the Indian Bill of 1935 which he thought had 'failed to provide a medium through which the living force of India can operate' and had 'relied upon the dead India of the past.' (p. 3) He believed that the Act of 1935 'discouraged the emergence of unity based on a sense of common nationality'. He condemned the Congress for its rigidity as an 'intransigent nationalists' majority in 1937.' Maulana Azad in his memoirs says that if the Uttar Pradesh League's offer of cooperation had been accepted in the ministry formation then the Muslim League would for all practical purposes have merged in the Congress. Azad was perhaps too over-confident in his assessment. S. Gopal has dealt at length with the UP Ministry formation and concluded justifiably that the negotiations between the Congress and the League were hollow and that the agreements between them would not have endured.[2] According to the author of the work under review, the Congress had established itself as a "totalitarian *Diet*" and a "para-constitutional Central Agency."

Further he has put forward the view that the Congress by its control over postings and promotions to Hindu officials, by its imposition of Hindi and Gandhi's Wardha scheme of education in government schools, by the introduction of the Congress flag, the Tenancy Legislation and singing of *Bande Mataram* as national anthem at official functions sowed the seeds of Muslim separation. The impact of these measures was felt most intensely in Uttar Pradesh and it was the UP Muslims that spearheaded the Pakistan movement.

The August 1940 Offer

When the war started, the Congress asked the government to declare its aims. The Viceroy, by what came to be known as the August Offer (1940), invited the Congress to join a new Advisory War Committee, but as regards self-government there was to be no constitutional advance until after the conclusion of the war. The author points out a fact not too well-known, that this August offer was drawn up by Winston Churchill, the Prime Minister. In this offer the League received a pledge that the "British would not transfer power to any system of government where authority is directly

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denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life." The author states that by this declaration the Muslims "now had something like the veto on constitutional advance that the 1935 Act had given to the provinces." Sikandar Hyat Khan, the Panjab Premier, believed that this declaration had 'removed the spectre of Hindi Raj.' (p. 54) It was a clear gain for the Muslim League !

The British however, were not going to relent on the Indian question despite the Congress pressures on the government ; they were in no mood to conciliate the Congress. The war was in full swing. For Britain it was a struggle for its survival. The Congress believed that only if India's aspirations were satisfied then could it give Britain whole-hearted support in the war for the Allied cause. The winter of 1941-42 brought the war close to the Indian borders due to the Japanese advance. This impending danger of invasion combind with Roosevelt's and Chiang-Kai-Shek's initiative made the British Government take another step to resolve the India problem. Churchill, the shrewd watchdog, was then in the United States and Attlee was incharge of the cabinet. Sir Stafford Cripps, whose diplomatic success with the Russians had enhanced his reputation and who was Lord Privy Seal and leader of the House of Lords, came to India to negotiate with the Indian leaders a settlement of the political question.

Rejection of Cripps' Proposals

The Congress rejected the Cripps Proposals because they provided nothing tangible and immediate to the Indians and left things to the future The Congress insisted that the new government must have immediately the full power of Dominion Status. Azad blames the Cripps Mission's failure on the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow and the British war cabinet which restrained Cripps from meeting the Congress demands.[3] This explanation may be partly true as the Congress urged strongly for giving more power to the Executive Council and reducing the status of the Secretary of State. Cripps was a staunch liberal with pronounced socialist leanings, but in the nature of the conditioning circumstances he could not act freely according to his own inclinations. With Churchill as Prime Minister fighting the war and India threatend by the Japanese, much could not be expected from the ruling power.

The Cripps Proposals were really meant to act as a sop to the Indian aspirations and to mollify public opinion in the United States and England. It gave nothing concrete to India but promised something after the war, assuming that the British would win it which seemed a remote possibility at least to some of the Indian leaders then. Churchill was pulling his strings from behind, and at one time called for Crippss "resignation from the war cabinet with impunity." But the Cripps Proposals conceded Pakistan in principle, in that once the constitution was drawn up any province might

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opt out from the Indian Union and become a separate dominion. Percival Spear believed that the rejection of Cripps' offer was a prelude to Pakistan.[4]

Civil Disobedience Movement Launched

Increasingly dissatisfied with the British attitude the Congress demanded their withdrawal on pain of a new civil disobedience movement and launched the Quit India Movement which alienated the Labour sympathies and "foreclosed the possibility of a further constitutional initiative for the duration of war." Gandhi declared : "After all, this is open rebellion." This naturally infuriated Attlee who thought that the Congress was trying to 'undermine the defence of India.' He declared that the Congress was 'not representative of India.' The British Government criticised the Congress for obstructing the war efforts and thereby embarrassing the government when the Japanese were advancing. What could be more dangerous to the British than this revolt which threatened the very existence of British rule in India ? The Government took strong action by arresting the entire Congress Working Committee on 7 August 1942. In the Quit India Movement about 1,000 lives were lost and 60,000 people arrested. The deadlock continued for the rest of the war period andthe Congress absence from the political scene cost it dearly. In politlcal terms the launching of the Quit India proved a grave blunder as had been the decision of the resignation of Congress ministries in 1939. The Congress had hoped that this defiance of British authority would make the British yield on constitutional advance but this calculation proved wrong. On the contrary the arrestof the Congress leaders left an open field for the Muslim League to emerge as a strong political party. Naturally the British began to show greater consideration to the League whose stock soon rose. By 1945 the League enjoyed the status of party government in Sind, North-Western Frontier Province, Bengal and even in the Hindu majority province of Assam. And when the Congress leaders were released they saw in the League their potential rival.

Muslim League Emerges as Strong Opposition

The political deadlock lasted through the war. At the end of the war, Lord Wavell's first task was the formation of national administration as contemplated in the Cripps Proposals. He called a meeting of the Indian leaders at Simla in June 1945 to resolve the Indian problem but his plan failed on the allotment of seats in the Executive Council. This was due to Jinnah's intransigence ; he declared that the Muslim League was the only representative organisation of the Muslims and therefore no other party had any right to nominate a Muslim as its representative on the cabinet. This view the Congress rejected. Wavell's effort was to circumvent Pakistan by creating a coalition government. He had hoped that his formula

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would make the Indians work together, but in vain ; soon the Hindu-Muslim rift demolished this aim.

Some of the British experts as Indian officials like Major John Mclaughlin, a Cambridge man closely associated with Cripps and Penderal Moon, who had served in the Indian Civil Service in the Punjab for 15 years, proposed that the British Government should agree to a suitable form of Pakistan and press it on the Congress. Jinnah stuck closely to the Pakistan Resolution and incorporated it in the constitution of the League Conference at Madras in 1941. At the Lahore Session he el aborated on the theme that Hindus and Muslims were two separate civilizations. Moon urged the British Government 'to come down on the side of Pakistan which is likely to be the right decision.' (pp. 58-59) Similarly G.D. Birla, John Mathai and Sir Homi Mody also supported the two-nation theory.

Cabinet Mission Despatched to India

With the advent of the Labour Party in power the Indian nationalists in the Congress Party became optimistic about India's future and thought that Labour would mean serious business and not be hamstrung in their actions by the obstructionist conservatives. Azad, the Congress President, regarded the Labour Party in power as 'an event of historic importance and a prelude to a constitutional settlement.' In the words of the Secretary of State, the Cabinet Mission was despatched to India with the object of taking immediate and positive steps to provide full self-government for India. The Mission was to hold discussions with the elected representatives of British India and the Indian states in order to arrive at an agreement about the framing of a Constitution setting up of a Consititution-making body and an interim government having the support of the main Indian parties.

The author emphasises that the Congress President, Azad, took special interest in the Cabinet Mission proposals and thought it a reasonable basis for resolving the Indian problem. In the meanwhile the democratic process was set in operation and elections were held for the Legislative Assembly in 1945. The Congress won over 90 per cent of the votes in the non-Muslim electorates and the League 80 per cent of the Muslim vote, thereby securing all the Muslim seats. The Congress emerged victorious in all the non-Muslim majority provinces, Assam, U.P., Bombay, Madras, Orissa, Central Provinces and Bihar and also in the Muslim majority province of North-Western Frontier. The Muslim League formed governments in Bengal and Sind but was frustrated in Punjab where a coalition of the Congress-Unionists-Sikhs came into being. Thus the League governed only in two provinces and its strategy lay in toppling the Coalition Government in Punjab. The election results showed that the League gained spectacular success. While in 1937 the League had won only 25 per cent

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of the Muslim votes, now in 1946 it captured about 90 per cent. On the basis of these election results Jinnah could declare with confidence that only the League represented the Muslims and none else.

The Cabinet Mission proposals tried to preserve a united India while giving reasonable satisfaction to Muslim claims to autonomy. It was a modification of the Cripps offer. This plan envisaged a federal union controlling defence, foreign affairs and communications and consisting of British provinces. The states were to be included after negotiations. The powers of the Federal Union were reduced and individual provinces had the liberty to form a subordinate union of their own. Each of these was to decide for itself the powers it would exercise outside the range of federal subjects. On the basis a Constituent Assembly of all parties would be convened and once again an interim government formed.

The Cabinet Mission rejected the League's demand of Pakistan on its military and economic disqualifications. On 7 July 1946 Nehru made a statement : 'We have decided for the moment to go into Constituent Assembly. 'When asked at the Press Conference whether the Congress had accepted the plan in toto, Nehru said that the Congress had agreed to go into the Constitutent Assembly and 'we have agreed to nothing else'. Nehru added. 'What we do there, we are entirely and absolutely free to determine.' He hoped that from any approach to the question there would be no grouping, and that the Union Government would be stronger. Jinnah condemned Nehru's statement and regarded it as a repudiation of the basis of the long term scheme and appealed to His Majestys' Government to expose the hollowness of the Congress "acceptance." The Muslim League withdrew its acceptance of the 16 May statement on 29 July at Bombay. Jinnah blamed both the Congress and the Muslim League for it, the Congress for its 'intransigence' and the government for its 'breach of faith' with the Muslims.

League Rejects Cabinet Mission Proposals

Nehru has been held responsible for the Muslim League's rejection of the Cabinet Mission's proposals. Azad thinks that Jinnah rejected the proposals due to Nehru's statement.[5] He points out that the statement turned the course of history and he calls it "wrong."[6] Michael Brecher regards it the "most fiery and provocative statement in his forty years of public life."[7] Mosley wrote that Nehru's remarks "were a direct act of sabotage."[8] S. Gopal has discussed the implication of Nehru's statement and rejected Azad's contention.[9]

The Muslim League had accepted the Cabinet Mission proposals in the belief that the formation of Pakistan was inherent in the plans. The Congress took the view that it would make its own interpretation in that the provinces might opt out of sections before the sections met. On the

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interpretation of the proposals there were different views. Naturally the Congress disfavoured the view that the Bengali Muslims should draft the constitution for Assam. The implication of Nehru's remarks was that there was nothing to prevent the Constituent Assembly from taking any decision by majority vote whereas compulsory grouping for constitution-making was according to Wavell the whole crux of the problem.

Road to Partition

The Congress entered into the Interim Government with Nehru as Vice-President. The Muslim League declared 16 August as a Direct Action Day which was observed in protest against the Congress forming the government. The Jinnah of the 1920s had opposed Gandhi because of his non-constitutional method of fighting the British by launching his non-cooperation movement. But now he bade goodbye to constitutional means and said : 'we too have a pistol'. Communal disturbances flared up in Bengal, Bihar and Punjab. The author remarks that these tragic events "made Jinnah's 'Rubicon' the road to Pakistan." He highlights the sinister role of H.S. Suhrawardy, head of the League Ministry in Bengal, for his failure to deploy the army to curb the disturbances. There was a total collapse of civil order in the country. (p. 162) Communal riots broke out in Bihar and the Punjab and assumed massive proportion. The Punjab Coalition was knocked out. Wavell realised that the chances of controlling the situation were remote. India was virtually involved in a civil war. The League entered the Coalition Government on 26 October when one of the League's-member-designate remarked ; 'we are going into the Interim Government to get a foothold to fight for our cherished goal of Pakistan.'

The British resisted conceding Pakistan to the League, but the League was now determined to fight for it. Jinnah refused to participate in the Constituent Assembly. The Congress insisted on calling the Constituent Assembly and drafting the constitution. Wavell proposed to Gandhi and Nehru a draft commiting the Congress to groups and sections. He made it clear that he would not call the Constituent Assembly unless they agreed. The Congress Working Committee rejected this proposal. The Congress thought that once the Constitution-making process was set in operation then by a majority vote it would be possible to settle things according to the democratic principle of deciding issues by majority votes. This position the League feared and refused to accept. Both the Congress and the League distrusted each other. There was no possibility of any understanding between the two. The League put national guards on war footing.

Despite the deadlock between the two contending parties the British still believed that an agreed settlement in India was a prize of great value. Negotiations had broken down earlier on the Interim Government and

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now on the Constituent Assembly. In this situation Wavell brought forth his famous "breakdown plan," i.e., the withdrawal from south India to the north. In practice it meant demission of power upon two or more successive states if a fully representative Constituent Assembly did not emerge. The argument against this proposal was that the central government would vanish. Attlee rejected this proposal.

The author suggests that there was a clear indication by His Majesty's Government that failing agreement over the Constituent Assembly it proposed to leave the League to secure Pakistan by a suitably arranged method of provincial option. What were the British to do ? Deadlock ! Full stop ! The British could not withdraw province-wise as suggested by Wavell. The Interim Government froze into inactivity. There was bitterness all round. After his talks with Wavell, Attlee realized that what was needed was drastic action to save the situation, to make the Indians feel that the British were clearing out within a definite period, and secondly to find the man to put it through. Some new basis of agreement was necessary ! A fresh approach was needed ! Attlee thought it unwise to quit India without providing a basis of agreement between the Congress and the League as he thought that quitting without prior agreement among the parties might encourage the Russians to enter India and establish their control

Like a shrewd strategist Jinnah was keeping his options open, biding his time, and keeping a close watch on events. He established contacts with Churchill who wrote that in his correspondence with Jinnah he would sign himself as Gilliatt (his secretary's name) but asked Jinnah how he would sign. Here was, according to the author, a secret avenue for intrigue !

Attlee disliked Wavell's 'geographical withdrawal' which meant 'fractionalisation of India into two or three parts.' It was a military solution to an otherwise political problem. To the League this 'fractionalisation' would lead to the destruction of Pakistan. Attlee thought that Wavell's handling of the political problem had created more difficulties and he was not the man to resolve the Indian problem. He held the view that Wavell had a defeatist mentality and had not the *nou* to deal with the Indian situation. Wavell's formidable silences and his reserved and taciturn nature made it difficult to create a congenial atmosphere conducive to a free and frank exchange of views with the Indian political leaders. The author admires Wavell and sums him up in the following terms : "Wavell's perseverence, courage and nobility in the face of appallingly difficult circumstances command admiration and respect. He was a soldier cast in a heroic mould and he earned extravagant praise." Attlee decided to replace Wavell. Cripps had thought likewise. The author regards Wavell's dismissal as "shabby."

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A "Prince Charming" myth surrounds Mountbatten who arrived in India at the eleventh hour. The Congress wanted a full transfer of power to the Interim Government followed by constitution-making for the creation of the Indian Union. Jinnah wanted Pakistan and agreement on its limits. At first with Mountbatten, the Cabinet Mission scheme remained the basic policy. He realized that the whole administration in India was running down. The British officers were at the end of the tether. The Interim Government's performance was disappointing. Almost every problem in the government was looked at from the communal angle.

Also, initially, Mountbatten reacted sharply against the Pakistan scheme. Lord Ismay had also thought that a limited India was the best answer but in the light of the conditioning circumstances, it was equally impracticable. To Mountbatten the concept of Pakistan was 'sheer madness' and he ridiculed it in the course of his six meetings with Jinnah. He thought Jinnah a 'psychopathic' case. But the principle of self-determination was vital for the Attlee Government. The Congress pressed for dominion status for the simple reason that it wanted to stop the further spread of violence. The Congress demanded quick transfer of power so that it could save the Muslim League's design of toppling Punjab and the NWFP ministries. But Jinnah wanted nothing short of Pakistan ! Mountbatten saw clearly that Pakistan could not be postponed. He believed that if Pakistan was formed then eventually it would return to India whereas any delay in not conceding it would complicate matters and throw the whole country into flames.

Mountbatten, with his diplomatic flair, acted as a one-man Cabinet Mission. Assisted by V.P. Menon, Mountbatten brought forth his plan "Balkan." Nehru rejected it as a departure from the basic factor of the Cabinet Mission agreement of the Union of India subject to the agreement that certain Muslim areas might opt out. Mountbatten brought the transfer of power deadline forward from June 1948 to August 1947. What he did was to reconcile the discordant principles set out by the League and the Congress and to make the Indian leaders agree on the partition of the country. Jinnah disliked the partition of Bengal and Punjab and demanded a land corridor to connect the eastern and western arms of Pakistan, but in vain.

The other important problem dealt in the book is that of the Indian states. Nehru was furious with the functioning of Sir Conrad Corfield, Political Administrator to the Crown Representative, and said that he should be 'impeached with misfeance.' Nehru had foreshadowed state peoples' rebellion against the non-acceeding princes. He declared that India could never agree to a state being independent. Three states had not acceded, Junagarh, Kashmir and Hyderabad. Mountbatten wanted a common Governor-General, a joint defence council and continuing Com-

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monwealth membership. During his four hour discussion Jinnah was impervious to Mountbatten's plea for a common Governor-General. Jinnah chose the devious course of postponing the issue until the process of partition was completed. Was it Jinnah's vanity that he did not agree to Mountbatten's view ? Probably he thought that Pakistan needed to be built from scratch and that he wished to make an assertion of independence from the start. Mountbatten stayed in India as Governor-General and the question of India being a Republic in relation to Commonwealth was resolved.

The Indian problem had a long history which the Labour Government despite its anxiety to satisfy India's aspirations could not ignore. The imperial inheritence was an impediment to the Labour Government in their aim of giving self-government to India. The Hindus and Muslims had drifted apart, the differences between the Congress and League became irreconcilable, and the two nation theory gave to the ruling power a psychological weapon to be used ruthlessly for political advantage. According to the author the defence arrangements were of primary importance to the British Government. The condition of independence was that the statutory provisions be made for the defence of Southeast Asia. The imperial problem exercised the mind of the British Government, and the prestige of the Commonwealth lay in the British ability to support Australia and New Zealand in time of need and its position in Burma, Malaya and the Far East. The Labour Government regarded the constitution of India within the Commonwealth essential from the point of imperial strategy.

It is often argued by historians that Mountbatten acted in the rush of things and failed thereby to bring the Indian leaders to some sort of agreement. By his policy of attrition he would have saved partition and the loss of about 50,000 lives. But the author of this work argues that the change in the date of the transfer of power would not have made any material difference. He believes that the "sword would have anyway fallen ten months later."

At the end of the work the author assesses the role of the leaders who brought about the transfer of power. He thinks that Mountbatten's contribution has been exaggerated. The elements of the solution on earlier deadlock—the Commonwealth, self-determination and partition—were all apparent before his departure to India. Mountbatten's task was to find the right blend. In fact Nehru, Patel and Ismay, by their reactions to the various formulaes helped in evolving a solution to the whole problem. But this is not to deny Mountbatten's part. Mountbatten by his diplomatic finesse and direct personal relationship helped in resolving some of the crucial political issues. The author defends Wavell as a straight forward and honest soldier unsuited to the capricious game of politics. The author further laments that Cripps' part has remained un-

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sung. In fact, in the process of the transfer of power Cripps meets us at every turn—he drafted almost every statement, suggested alterations, and held frequent consultations with the Indian political leaders. The idea of setting a transfer deadline was Cripps'. According to the author Attlee's role has been splendid. He was committed to disengagement from India, the supreme aim of British policy. In short it was not a one man mission that by some magic wand resolved the Indian question—the solution was a result of teamwork, and often the real discussions were taken over by the Indian Committee in London.

This work shows that Pakistan was not clamped down on India all of a sudden but its idea grew and gained strength from the Cripps' Proposals. The author, by analysing various constitutional devices and innovations, builds up the thesis that Pakistan was the logical culmination of these various constitutional experiments and adjustments. There was thus a certain inevitability about the creation of Pakistan. In the whole work there persists a tendency to undermine the role of individuals as a force in history. Thus the mode of treatment is in line with the Namier method of interpreting history which has been accepted by some historians of the Indian national movement and of Partition. This is undoubtedly a work of meticulous scholarship which gives a new dimension to our understanding of this last phase of British rule which was involved in the making of high policy decisions that were to determine the future of India and Pakistan.

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POLITICAL THEORY

MAURICE BLOCH : MARXISM AND ANTHROPOLOGY : The History of a Relationship. Clarondon Prees, Oxford, 1983, 180 p., Rs. 130. History

OTHERWISE a useful account of the relations between Marxism and Anthropology all down the line from Lewis Henry Morgan's influence on Marx and Engels to Althusser's on some French anthropologists, this book nevertheless reinforces the image one generally gets of the social sciences in the West as a chamber of distorting mirrors. This comes about in the social sciences, as also in Marxism, largely through the restless Western drive to try and reduce the irreducible to some objective determinant or other, be it the environment in general, or geography or the psychological, sociological or economic dimension or, more specifically, productive forces and relations. Yet, as the Nobel prize-winner, Rudolph Euoken, told us long ago, man is the meeting point of many levels of reality. Although somewhat constrained by his situation, he is nonetheless the maker of his history ; and it is surely misguiding to make the maker sobordinate to that which he makes. To do so is merely to illustrate and strengthen the nihilistic nexus in man.

Take, for example, the views of early kinship which Marx and Engels upheld, depending for this purpose on the interpretations of Morgan and Bachofen. In accordance with these views matriliny was presumed to precede patriliny, sexual relations were believed to be entirely promiscuous, and the group as such took the place of nuclear or joint families. To counter the evolutionism of which these views of early kinship represented the first stage, Wilhelm Schmidt and the Culture-Historical School, of which he was one of the leading spokesmen, taking a cue from Andrew Lang, endeavoured to demonstrate at length that the most primitive peoples in existence, the food-gathering and hunting tribes, were basically monogamous and monotheistic. Therefore, prehistorically this was the first stage, and that thereafter a degeneration followed in the course of the culture history of mankind. Schmidt's views, as also those of the evolutionists, were dismissed by the British social anthropologists as pseudo-history on the grounds that to reason historically from the present-day tribes to the remote past without written sources was methodologically unsound, since the present-day tribes cannot be said to have remained culturally unchanged from primeval times to the present day. This is all to the good ; and Maurice Bloch shows himself to be thoroughly informed on field-work findings and other developments in social and cultural anthropology today. He maintains that these findings and developments do not justify the views of early kinship which Morgan and Bachofen and, following them, Marx and Engels, upheld. It is a pity that he makes no mention of Wilhelm Schmidt ; but does the *a posteriori* altogether negate the *a priori*, or

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should one rather view both more integrally, as the integrality of man himself would require ?

Or, take again the example of Althusser's influence on a few French anthropologists of today to which Bloch draws our attention towards the latter part of his book. As Raymond Aron has pointed out, Althusser was responsible for setting the clock back in French intellectual circles by his stress on a positivist interpretation of Marx. This is evidenced in Althusser's quest. He went in search of a precise analytical tool and sought it in a rigorous definition which would enable him to disentangle the elements 'in the intellectual process of constructing a mode of production from the concrete and real phenomena under examination.' A mode of production thus became in his eyes a system of articulated structures acting on one another, the articulated structures having more or less dfferent powers. Althusser, we must also note, castigated the notion of taking social and historical phenomena in their own terms as empiricism and lauded the idea of the underlying system of structural relations as the source of historical transformation. Marxist anthropologists in France, therefore, view their task as being an endeavour, first, at constructing modes of production, and second, at understanding their articulation in social formations. While Althusser's castigation of mere empiricism is to be commended, his 'many-faceted and complex' contribution to Marxist theory seems, all the same, to imprison itself in a reductionist cage of cast-iron, as no doubt the anthropologists in the field will duly recognize.

As we have stated before, however, Bloch has presented us with a useful survey in this book. He examines the subject from alpha to omega and he is well informed on the subject-matter of his discourse. As he points out initially, Marx turned to anthropology because it was concerned with the early history of mankind, that is to say, with pre-capitalist fermations. But because the founders mixed the "rhetorical and historical use of anthropology" together they produced "a false picture of the idyllic classless community which was later termed primitive communism." Bloch then turns to examine in some detail what Marx and Engels have to say in their writings on these precapitalist formations and goes on to consider the present-day standing of their anthropology. Turning next to the direct successors to Marx and Engels, he passes on to Marxism and American Anthropology and ends with an over-view of Marxism and British and French Anthropology.

Although Marxism set out to overcome the distortions of the social sciences in the bourgeois world, *Marxism and Anthropology* demonstrates, among other things, that Marxism itself is a distorting mirror.

Bombay J.V. FERREIRA

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N.D. ARORA : Theory of State—A Short Introduction : Plato to Marx. Social Science Research Publications, New Delhi, 1983, viii, 256 p., Rs. 80.

THE book under review is a short and compact study of the concept of state as viewed by Western political philosophers from Plato to Karl Marx. Arora has done a good job and needs to be complemented for presenting a coherent, comprehensive and well-knit account of the theory of state from the earliest times. And to some extent the author is justified in saying that this work "supplements the vast and voluminous body of writings on the subject." Therefore this book would prove useful to those students of political theory who find it difficult to go to the original writings (or translations) of the philosophers, particularly on the concept of state. But unfortunately, this work lacks interpretation and analysis and does not add anything to our existing knowledge on the concept of state. The author is fully conscious of this, and therefore says at the outset : "This study makes no claims of any originality." In a way this book is at best a fine example of patch work—a common phenomenon these days. Nevertheless, there is an important difference in this work, i.e. an effective use by the author of original texts of the philosophers and authoritative works on the subject.

The book contains seven chapters in all. The first chapter entitled "Meaning of the State : A Perspective" is perhaps the best. In this the author discusses the definition of the state from different points of view as well as explains the characteristics of the state in a lucid manner. The second and third chapters trace the evolution of the theory of state in the ancient and mediaeval periods. The other four chapters deal with the theory of state from Machiavelli to Marx, mainly focusing on the emerengence of the concept of modern state. The omission of a concluding chapter by the author is deliberate and therefore does not give a surprise as the book is merely a compilation of the views of thinkers and not a scholarly creative work.

As far as methodology is concerned, Arora is right in saying that thinkers should be understood through their "own words" and be "interpreted from their own perspective." But unfortunately he himself does not strictly follow this approach while studying philosophers (for instance see chapters on Plato and Marx). Further, the author admonishes those scholars who "assess political philosophers from the present day relevance." For him, the writings loaded with this type of commitments "belies a proper and unbiased estimate of philosophers." Here, one would like to pick an argument with the author. After all, the evolution of the theory of state from the ancient past to the present day has a direct or indirect bearing on our contemporary society and political systems. Therefore, any work dealing with the theory of state can only become fruitful if it is

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studied in the context of the emerging theory building processes and the present political systems.

In the end, the book does not include a separate bibliography. Moreover the long quotations (see in particular pages 134-139) without any contextual significance are not only irritating but make a dull reading of the book. Despite these limitations, this work can be recommended to college and university students of political theory.

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FOREIGN POLICY

SURJIT MANSINGH : India's Search for Power : Indira Gandhi's Foreign Policy 1966-82. Sage Publications India (Pvt.) Ltd., New Delhi, 1984, XV, 405 p., Rs. 165.

SURJIT MANSINGH'S second, but independent research work, *India's Search For Power*, may suggest, not without reasons, that it could have been entitled "Indira Gandhi's Search For Power." In the very first chapter, in the section with such a sub-heading as "Indira's Personality : India's Behaviour," the author, taking the readers with her, notes "certain parallels between Indira Gandhi's personality and the *persona* of India as a state actor on the international stage." (p. 19) But any student of social science may question the factual validity of such isomorphic correspondence between the intention and idiosyncracies of the head of a policy-making body and its actualization in the behaviour of the policy-implementing state-apparatus because there are many mediating factors in this process.

How much superficial and untenable such parallels are, may be understood from the following observations :

> Indira Gandhi frequently referred to her childhood as 'insecure' ; she is most often described as 'lonely.'
> India too, as a state, displayed a sense of aloneness and insecurity in an international environment...(p. 19).

But a "sense of aloneness" cannot characterize India's role in the comity of nations. Even before independence India's heroic struggle for national freedom attracted the attention of underdeveloped colonial coun-

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tries, communist Russia and some countries of the capitalist West. That after independence India has been able to gather around it the non-aligned countries has been asserted by the author herself. (p. 13) The "sense of insecurity" is created by the government itself and utilized when it has to divert the public attention from its failure by whipping up national sentiment. India is not as weak as to warrant such a sense of insecurity. In fact, Indian soldiers displayed their valour in the First World War and in repulsing the Pakistani attack on Kashmir just after independence. The liberation of Goa is another such example.

Again, in the opinion of the author, "several elements of Indira's appraisal... are strikingly reflected in India's behaviour with other states." (p. 20) The "insistence on autonomy" as "unifying theme of India's foreign policy," (p. 20) is an example of such reflection. Self-sustained, high level economic development has been regarded by the author as a material element that facilitates autonomous behaviour. The seeds of such autonomy may be traced to the "Bombay Plan" prepared by the Indian bourgeoisie for the achievement of self-sustained economic development and economic self-sufficiency. Should we then explore the psycho-pathological make-up of those Indian capitalists following our learned author, who instead of making original contribution in this field followed "Harold Lasswell's path-breaking psychopathology and politics" ? (p. 18) And whether such psychopathological configuration of individual personality is a self-explanatory final referent point, which can be conceived without any embedding social structure, is a question that our learned author has neither raised nor answered. In analysing Indira Gandhi's personality, she has dealt with in a sketchy manner such fragmentary factors as family —its involvement in the national struggle, education and upbringing without linking them to the structure of social totality—its various aspects and orientation and class-composition. Whatever may be the uniqueness of personality, it should be remembered that men can be individualized only in the society based on a specific mode of production.

Taking the validity of psychopathological methods for granted a few more points may be discussed. As regards the correlation between the features of Indira's character and those of India's foreign relations, the author has pointed out that, "In correlating inner alternations of Indira Gandhi and outer alternations of India as a state, three themes stand out —cultural identity, object of ambition, and power." (p. 21) It may be noted in the first place that the author has used three different expressions namely "correlation", (p. 21) "reflection" (p. 20) and "parallels" (p. 19) in comparing elements of Indira's personality and India's external behaviour. But parallels may mean both presence and/or absence of correlation and correlation does not always mean causal relation that may include reflection. And reflection may also mean essence—appearance relation as in a Hegelian framework. In the latter framework, India's external behaviour

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or foreign policy is the epiphenomena of Indira's personality traits. If this is accepted the former can be reduced into the latter. But will this interpretation be accepted by the author or her readers ? If not, she should have taken more care in the use of expressive terms.

Coming to the point of correlation again, it may be pointed out that the author considers "Indira Gandhi's claim to be in tune with the authentic soul of India" to be correct. But if Indira Gandhi is said to have got herself in tune with the authentic soul of India" by acquiring from her mother the "typically Hindi idiom of language" and a profound respect for the strength and virtues of Hindu womanhood then it cannot be said that "she is not identified with only one sector of India's diverse society." (p. 21) In fact Indira Gandhi tried to identify herself with the Hindu community that constitutes the majority of Indian voters by paying frequently ostensible visits to different Hindu temples at different places of the country like a devout person, though her marriage with a Parsi, which in the opinion of the author reflected her characteristic "autonomy" and "formidable will," (p. 20) is a little anthema. And as the Indianness that India projects in its dealings with other countries is essentially a Hindu cultural orientation, religious feuds in India are a permanent problem used suitably by the capitalists to disunite toiling people, struggling unitedly and by the state to keep the border problems alive with a view to diverting people's attention from the failures of the government.

In the opinion of our author, "dissonance that can be detected in Indira Gandhi's personality and the stance of her country is between ambition and object of ambition." (p. 22) The author indicates that Indira Gandhi's ambition was high and as radical as "Garibi Hatao" (or remove poverty) call. But, as the author has asserted, "her failure to realise these high aspirations was not a failure of definition but of means." (p, 23) Still one may legitimately doubt whether it is possible to correctly define the aspiration of removing poverty from every corner of India by keeping intact the underdeveloped capitalist structure of the country or by simultaneously allowing the capitalists to increase their profits. (To have a glimpse into the rate of increase of profit made by the capitalists, see S.K. Goyal, *Monopoly Capital and Public Policy in India*, Allied, New Delhi, 1979).

The ignorance of ends-means relations appears to be deceptive. The author appears to have tried to shroud the ugly fact that the Garibi Hatao slogan was an election-gimmick. And on the international plane India "identified itself with the human causes...spoke for the liberation of subject peoples, for equality of races, for the equitable distribution of the means of economic growth" (p. 23) not for professing a high ideal which it could not realize, but for creating a goodwill in the newly liberated Afro-Asian countries that would help in finding a ready export market for Indian goods. Our learned author has tried to idealize the mundane affairs

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of securing votes by befooling people at home and by getting export markets and profits abroad.

It is commendable that the author has tried to deduce a new concept of power from the internal and external policies of India and Indira's enunciation of her foreign policy linking both to the tradition of India in general and the concept of *purna swaraj* of Mahatma Gandhi in particular. *Purna swaraj* means to the author "...the sense of full autonomy, that is the ability of a state to command through its government sufficient power to reject external restraints imposed on it and to reverse earlier acceptances of restraint." (p. 33) The maintenance of such autonomy requires the country to be worthy of it and capable of defending it.

The intangible attributes of such power is not aggressiveness and brute force but, as Mrs Gandhi asserts, 'the profundities of Indian vitality or imperishableness.' (p. 34) But the author maintains, "Mrs Gandhi was less impressed by the sway of moral influence or universalist principles" because of the "costly effects of heavy reliance on them." (p. 34) As non-aggressiveness does not mean unwillingness to acquire tangible elements of power Mrs Gandhi was concerned "for the tangible aspects of power and security" and adopted a "pragmatic approach to the means of acquiring them." (p. 34) Thus Mrs Gandhi emphasized not only the first requirement of autonomy but also the second. All the major political parties in India have also "highlighted independence in foreign affairs, improved defenses and economic growth." (p. 35)

Clarifying the concept of power that emerges from Indira Gandhi's assertions and those of major political parties, India's Foreign Policy and the underlying concept of *purna swaraj* the author observes: "Conventional categories of power and non-power, aggressive or non-aggressive, nuclear or non-nuclear, do not fit India. It refused to play the roles of subordination or dominance expected by others." Thus, in the author's view, power lies in the refusal "to play the roles of subordination....expected by others." (p. 40) But this is simply the negative deduction from the opposite pole of the conventional definition of power "as the capacity to secure the dominance of one's values or goals." (John M. Pfiffner and Frank P. Sherwood, *Administrative Organizations*, New Delhi, 1968, p. 79). And the author's own concept is directly subsumed by Bottomore's definitions of power as "ability...to pursue a course of action... if necessary... against the opposition." (T. B. Bottomore, *Political Sociology*, New Delhi, 1979, p. 7) The pursuance of its course of action by India may involve the refusal to play the roles of subordination expected by others. What the author leaves out of her analysis is the objective necessity and capacity of Indian socio-economic systems for such a course of action.

The author's enunciation of power as an end in-itself rather than a means contradicts her above analysis where power, both tangible and intangible, gives the capacity to defend one's autonomy, or to refuse to play

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the roles of subordination expected by others. Such enunciation of power either in respect of Mrs. Gaddhi or in respect of India's behaviour lacks factual basis. In her opinion 'the attainment of power appeared at times to be the end of her ambition, rather than the beginning and the means for national achievement ! (p. 25) What appears to the author is more apparent than real. That power is sought by Indira Gandhi, not unoften, as means has been exemplified by her endeavour to help her son the late Sanjay Gandhi and of late Rajiv Gandhi to move upward along the power-ladder. The ostentation of the acquisition of nuclear power by India (through its Pokharan underground blast) made people enamoured (p. 35) about the Indira Government and oblivious of the abject poverty of the teeming millions. And whatever leadership India secured among the non-aligned nations "gave India a peculiar form of power," (p. 16) which as a means, helped India to create a goodwill among the emergent states and secure markets for its export goods and scarce crucial resources.

Thus, as our author gives a skin-deep analysis of ephemeral phenomena and existential politico-economic realities without tracing their connexions with the anatomy of the body politic that behaves both inside and outside the national frontiers, her study fails to reveal these significant aspects of reality and gives an incorrect impression of the whole matter.

Summing up the analysis of the first chapter, the author observes : "Indira Gandhi's contributions to India's foreign policy were shaped by her heritage and her individual personality." (p. 29) And if "Indira Gandhi's legacy in the public political environment of India was a constraint on her performance in the international environment" (p. 11) and the "conceptual guidelines on the future of a subcontinent....were missing from Nehru's legacy of non-alignment ; (p. 18) then Indira Gandh's contributions may be said to have been shaped only by her individual personality But such an analytical framework, that has formed the basis of the analyses made in the rest of the chapters of the book under review, appears to have totally neglected the nature of socio-economic formation in India — its needs and imperatives and its position in the constellation of states.

Taking the latter point first, it may be pointed out that India's geographical position, its size of population, and territory and the stage of development it has achieved in various spheres even before the Indira-era are expected to give any of its prime minister a special position irrespective of personality factors. In the sphere of international relations, the superpowers' competition for extending their respective areas of influence by making friends with as many states as possible also enhances India's importance to these powers (see p. 77) Secondly, a country's foreign policy tends to be shaped by the need of its socio-economic structure (cf. V.I. Lenin, *Imperialism*, Moscow, 1953, p. 137) If India is considered to be an underdeveloped capitalist country, it may be said to have two

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types of needs. In so far it has undergone capitalist development it will require export markets for its finished products and in so far it remained underdeveloped it requires foreign assistance in different forms from developed capitalist and non-capitalist countries (p. 71) and different international agencies. And it is by playing a role of non-alignment that India exhibits apparent autonomy and power (p. 79) in relation to super powers. And in so far it requires foreign assistance Indian prime ministers had to depend on the advanced capitalist countries like the USA, UK, France and West Germany and the non-capitalist countries like the USSR and those in the eastern Europe. As no super power considers it wise to alienate India totally and disturb the present power-balance in South Asia, India is getting assistance both from the USA and the USSR. (see p. 168) This may be called a dialectics of dependence and autonomy. Even the policy of pursuing peace and disarmament serves the aim of uninterrupted development of capitalism in India because the resources to be used for the import of arms could be used for the import of spares and scarce material required for such development.

If India's performance in the sphere of foreign relations are analysed from the *above* perspective it will be seen that the above two needs (that is, foreign assistance for socio-economic development and the export market for Indian products) of India's socio-economic system have been met as far as possible. And Indira's Gandhi's credit lies in the recognition of these two needs and in taking proper steps to meet them. The personality factors of Indira Gandhi can only help in meeting the above two needs of the socio-economic system more fully ; and the more fully these two needs of the socio-economic system are met the more the interest of the Indian capitalists (and not the national interest vaguely defined by the author) would be met ; and the more the interest of the capitalists are met the more they would help Indira Gandhi to stay in power for many more terms of office. (See Brian Davey, *The Economic Development in India*, Bristol, 1979 p. 121 and S.N. Sadasivan, *Party and Democracy in India*, New Delhi, 1977, pp. 304-5 for information regarding donation made by capitalists to the election fund of the Congress (I) Party) This irresistible observation once more reminds Marx's famous remarks : "Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves ; but under circumstances directiy encountered, given and transmitted from the past." (*The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*) But unfortunately enough, Indira Gandhi with all her charisma could not and did not make history because she did not remove the contradiction lying between the relations and forces of production in India, that could usher in a new epoch. Nay, instead of removing such contradiction, she did keep herself in power by serving the interest of a class that hindered such removal.

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Thus what emerges from this discussion is that the book under review suffers from a lack of a suitable analytical structure that can marshal the labyrinth of tantalizing details, which the book does not lack, and give such details appropriate meaning and significance.

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RAJEN HARSHE : The Pervasive Entente : France, and Ivory Coast in African Affairs. Arnold Heimemawn, New Delhi, 1984, xii, 184 p., Rs. 50.

AMONG the former colonial powers, it is France that has been most successful in extending its neo-colonial rule over its former African colonies—be it for spreading French culture in the grand tradition of de Gaulle, for geo-political strategic factors or for economic reasons. France has not hesitated to intervene militarily even beyond the confines of its former colonies as in Zaire in 1977-78. Militarily France has maintained a strong and somewhat controversial presence with 10,000 to 12,000 troops stationed on the African soil. No other Western nation is so militarily involved in Africa. To a very large extent, this extension of neo-colonial control would not have been possible had it not been for the voluntary collaboration on the part of African governments which do not perceive the French influence as neo-colonial but as "cooperation" claimed to be mutually beneficial. Ivory Coast best exemplifies this relationship. *Pervasive Entente : France and Ivory Coast in African Affairs* by Rajen Harshe is an empirical study of the bilateral relations between Ivory Coast and France during the period 1956-60. As the author says in the Preface, "it is an exercise in the history of contemporary international relations."

In the European scramble for Africa, France expanded its territories and along with Great Britain ruled the largest colonial empire in Africa. Ivory Coast in West Africa is one of the richest territories that came under French rule. As elsewhere in colonial Africa, French rule introduced money economy in the Ivory Coast along with cultivation of cash crops for exports. With this, trading companies such as *Compagnie Francaise de l'Afrique Occidentale, Societe Commerciale de l'Ouest Africaine* came into being and helped integrate French West Africa's trade with France. Among the territories of French West Africa—which were essentially peasant societies—Ivory Coast and Senegal witnessed a certain degree of industrialisation while there was hardly any in Dahomey, Niger, Upper Volta and Sudan. This in turn led to the growth of urban centres

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such as Dakar and Abidjan, increasing politicisation of Africans and the emergence of an educated African elite and eventually, political parties Within the Ivory Coast, the *Parti Democratique de la Cote d' Ivoire* (PDCI) in 1946 championed the cause of Africans but did not as yet advocate independence. It supported the Franco-African Community based on the principle of equality. This was soon followed by the emergence of the major interterritorial party called the *Rassemblement Democratique African* (RDA) of which Houphouet Boigny became the first President and who was to be the main architect of the Franco-Ivoirian entente.

Harshe traces the evolution of the French Community and the eventual independence of French West African territories. "The passage of the *Loi-Cadre* reforms in June 1956 changed the structure of relations between France and French West Africa", (p. 33) and served to protect French interests in the region. Within French West Africa the two contending groups—one favouring the federalist principle and the other opposing it—arose. Leopold Senghor of Senegal was in favour of the federalist principle and opposed the *Loi-Cadre* reforms; while Boigny was anti-federalist and pro-*Loi-Cadre*. The *Loi-Cadre* held out distinct economic advantages for the Ivory Coast. It had significant surplus reserves and contributed one third of the total customs revenue for the 8 territories which, until 1956, constituted the Federation of West Africa. A federation would transfer Ivory Coast's reserves to poorer territories and Boigny's hope of building a rich Ivory Coast with French technological support would not be realized. Gabon, richest in French Equatorial Africa was also anti-federalist. The poorer countries, Guinea and Senegal were for a federation as they stood to gain by it. France concurred with Ivory Coast as it could continue to control the African territories.

With the blowing up of the Algerian crisis and the coming to power of General de Gaulle in 1958, the Franco-African Community came into being under the Fifth Republic of France in September 1958. If Guinea's resounding "no" to join the Community hurt French pride, Ivory Coast's *entente* with France somewhat compensated for it. For Ivory Coast, the *Communaute* symbolised the success of Houphoutisme. Economically, the community proved far more advantageous to France than to African countries. Politically, France continued to enjoy a certain leverage in Africa as also the perpetuation of French cultural hold. On the other hand, poorer countries of Africa such as Dahomey, Upper Volta and Sudan could no longer rely on transfer of surplus resources from richer countries, but became more and more dependent on France. French West Africa's trade on the whole got more integrated with highly protected franc zone. The dependence of these countries extended to the inflow of of technical and managerial personnel. That some of the African leaders

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were appointed minister-councillors and could attend the cabinet meetings of the Community and that French and Africans enjoyed citizenship rights in each others territories, in no way lessened this dependence and if anything, were hangovers of the assimilationist policy. Boigny championed the cause of the Community as "interdependence...between Nations of the World."

The Ivory Coast, along with France, worked actively towards disrupting integrationist trends in inter-state relations in West Africa. The issue of federation influenced emerging political alliances in French West Africa and inter-territorial political parties which emerged in the region were divided on the issue. As against the Mali Federation of Sudan and Senegal, Boigny set up the Entente states (Niger, Dahomey and Upper Volta) under Ivorian leadership. Dahomey which was economically in bad shape and depended on the Ivory Coast, was pressurised into remaining outside the Mali Federation by France and Ivory Coast. Making use of dependence of countries like Upper Volta on Ivory Coast, Niger on France, Boigny's efforts were directed towards setting up of a parallel group within the French Community to challenge the federalist forces in West Africa. France did not hesitate to intervene in Gabon to help the pro-French Government led by Leon M'ba and the Entente states refrained from denouncing the French action. In the political struggle in Niger, Boigny supported Diori as opposed to the Sawaba Party. While the Entente states faced difficulties, Ivory Coast's continued association with France fetched for it the largest amount of aid, next to Senegal, from the metropole.

Houphouet Boigny kept out of the Pan-African movement that was developing for the first time on the African soil. Boigny refused to participate in the All African People's Conference in Accra in 1958. He arranged a series of meetings between African countries without antagonizing France on the question of Algeria. At the two conferences of Brazzaville in December 1960 (attended by Ivory Coast, Gabon, Dahomey, Central African Republic, Congo (Brazzaville), Upper Volta, Mauritania, Niger, Tchad and Madagascar), and Casablanca in January 1961 (attended by Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Morocco and the United Arab Republic), two different political trends emerged. The former refused to condemn France in Algeria, opposed the idea of UN intervention in Algeria and in the Congo-Leopoldville. French role in the Congo Crisis, and latter in 1977-78 in Zaire is well known. The Casablanca Group denounced NATO and France in Algeria and urged the United Nations to adopt a clear and strong policy in the Congo, denounced French nuclear tests in the Sahara, condemned France and French African states for allowing French troops on their soil. The Franco-Ivoirian model of cooperation came under criticism. The Organization of African Unity

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(OAU) came into being in 1963 at the Addis Ababa Conference with the hope that various regional groupings would dissolve themselves and pave the way for African unity. However, ideological differences did not come to an end with the OAU and at the OCAM (*Organisation Commune Africaine at Malgache*) Conference in 1965, the division between the radicals and conservatives was evident. Boigny's pre-eminent position in the OCAM was used to convince the organization of the legitimacy of the government of Tshombe, who led the Katangese secession in the former Belgian Congo. The OCAM members did not participate in the OAU Conference at Accra in 1965 as they held Nkrumah responsible for organizing subversive activities. Ivory Coast and France concurred on all these issues.

Analysing the economics of the Franco-Ivoirian Entente, the author lists the relative advantages and disadvantages of the Entente and also of the Association of African countries with the European Economic Community (EEC). 24 per cent of imports to France came from African countries. 70 to 80 per cent of French-African Union products were absorbed by the French markets. Aid benefits from the Overseas Development Fund, larger markets for African products offered by EEC countries and tariff preferences to the tropical products, were some other advantages. Coffee and Cocoa—chief products of the Ivory Coast—enjoyed preferential tariff and Ivory Coast received the highest amount among the Entente states, from the Overseas Development Fund. The Yaounde Convention was signed on 20 July 1968 between the six EEC countries and 18 African countries which had become Independent. If certain benefits accrued to the African countries, on the whole they became more and more dependent on the six EEC members and had no control over fluctuations in world prices for primary products. While prices of capital goods increased, there was a fall in prices of primary products. Ivory Coast was no exception to this. Orientation of African trade remained confined to France despite the Association which discouraged them from diversifying their products. Private foreign investment increased. Ivory Coast showed relative prosperity and a slight decrease in dependence on France as other capitalist countries stepped in and a decrease in dependence on coffee as export item, since timber was also being exported.

While the author traces the development of the Franco-Ivoirian Entente lucidly, the analysis of the same does not seem to be very convincing. In the concluding chapter, Harshe argues that Ivory Coast does not fall into either of the two categories of African states—one represented by Guinea which attempted to minimise its economic and political dependence on France and the other represented by Niger and Senegal which wanted to maintain cordial relations with France. While Ivory Coast did not opt for the Guinean path, its relations with France did not remain static. "Franco-Ivoirian Cooperation in both economic and political fields continued to grow and assumed an importance far beyond

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the bounds of bilateral relations during the period under review. The relationship is characterised by stability and continuity." (p 133) It is true that the radical/conservative or socialist/capitalist dichotomy of African states may not be very valid. Those who professed radical or socialist policies did not cut off relations with their former colonial powers. African economies are inextricably linked with world capitalism. Continued dependence and vulnerability of their economies cannot be wished away. Yet, African countries have to make a choice which is essentially a political choice, in respect of the path of development that they have to follow. Dependance on aid and growth without reference to equitable distribution of wealth has led to social and economic inequalities and ecological problems.

Ivory Coast, relatively in a better economic situation, continued to depend on France and other industrialised countries for capital investments. While interdependence of nations in international relations is normal and inevitable, dependence of developing countries on industrialised countries cannot be equated with the dependence of the latter on the former. There is a qualitative difference between the two and dependence of developing nations on foreign capital has only led to increasing dependence and growth without development. Inter-dependence presumes, if not equality between nations, at least equal bargaining power, and above all, the freedom and the will to use that bargaining power. This depends much on the nature of the regime and the goals it sets for itself. In the case of Ivory Coast, in return for aid from France, Boigny was willing to be its ally. Even while advocating non-interference and sovereignty of states, Ivory Coast supported French intervention in Gabon and Niger, used the dependence of poorer countries for its own benefit, was unwilling to support Pan-Africanism and supported French stand in Algeria and the Belgian Congo.

While the author does not entirely agree with either Samir Amin or Elliot Berg on the question of Ivory Coast's economic performance, he nevertheless concludes that social inequalities in Ivory Coast increased and that the government failed to take concrete measures to bridge the social and economic inequalities and that "Franco-Ivoirian-African relationship did offer an evidenee of French neo-colonialism." It is hard to understand as to how, if there is evidence of neo-colonialism and if France is the stronger and the more dominant partner in the Franco-Ivoirian Entente, the relationship is one of interdependence. Is not interdependence a euphemism for dependence ?

Harshe's *Pervasive Entente*, with an extensive bibliography and appendix, is a useful study of African relations the and personal diplomacy of Houphouet Boigny as an African leader.

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DARSHAN SINGH (Ed.) : Soviet Foreign Policy Documents 1982. Sterling Publishers, New Delhi, 1984, xxxi, 214 p., Rs. 100.

THE book under review is the fifth series which Darshan Singh has compiled in recent years. The title of the book is rather misleading as it consists of declaratory statements such as joint communiques, statements issued by the Soviet news agency TASS and by Soviet leaders on contemporary issues of international politics. No government releases authoritative documents of foreign policy every year, much less the Soviets which have never opened their foreign policy archives for scholarly research. However, this is in no way meant to underestimate the importance of declaratory statements issued from time to time by all, small or great, powers with a view to explain and project their foreign policies. Moreover, in the absence of authoritative documents, such declaratory statements provide an important source for understanding foreign policy objectives by relating them to the actual external behaviour of any country. Therefore collection of such declaratory statements constitutes the first step in the process of comprehending the strategies designed to achieve foreign policy goals.

Although the Soviet media and information agencies regularly publicise and widely distribute such statements most often these are lost in the heap of propaganda materials. Their collection and publication in books particularly in a third world non-aligned country would give them appropriate academic respectability !

Besides joint communiques with a number of COMECON, the third world and the European countries, the book contains several notes and statements which the Soviet Government and its leaders addressed to various governments, international organisations and newspapers demonstrating the ever expanding reach of Soviet power and influence in international politics.

Following the revolutionary practice started by V.I. Lenin in the immediate post-October Revolution period some of these statements are addressed to political parties and peoples of the world. In accordance with the orthodox diplomatic norms such moves are viewed as interference in the internal affairs of other countries. However, the Marxist-Leninist framework of Soviet foreign policy allows the Soviets to simultaneously claim to pursue a policy of peaceful co-existence and to issue provocative appeals to peoples and political parties in the capitalist world to rise against their governments.

Without paying any attention to the nature and relative importance of different types of such Soviet "documents" the editor has arranged them in chronological order. A better course would have been to classify them on the basis of their typology, content and politico-juridical significance. It would have avoided interspersing joint communiques and official govern-

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mental notes with press interviews and statements of the Soviet news agency —TASS. Certainly it would have required a little more serious and exhaustive work.

Of course the most interesting part of the book is its Preface in which Darshan Singh has confined himself to project the Soviet view of the international situation. The value of the book would have considerably increased had Darshan Singh also attempted a critical evaluation of the Soviet positions on various contemporary issues of international politics.

In the present form, Darshan Singh's Preface looks like another Soviet document. The editor has picked up numerous statements and figures from all sorts of Soviet publications and accepted them on their face value. The Soviets' view about their opponents are well-known. The nature, objectives and resources devoted by the West to achieve their foreign policy goals are also known. What is not known is the resources devoted by the Soviets to frustrate those designs ? What percentage of its GNP the USSR allocates for its defence ? How the Soviets achieved strategic-parity during the period of *detente*. The Soviets are extremely secretive about the number and strength of their military bases in East Europe, Afro-Asia and Latin America (Cuba). At least a book on Soviet foreign policy documents should provide information on these important aspects of Soviet policy. Let it be judged by others whether the growing Soviet military might is meant to safeguard world peace and security from the threat posed by the imperialists or is it becoming an instrument of intervention and dominance.

True, the Reagan Administration in the United States and the hawkish ruling circles in the West have done much to revive the cold war trends but the Soviets cannot totally escape from the responsibility of creating an international climate which encouraged hawkish forces to re-establish their dominance in the West. But following the Soviet line the editor exclusively holds the Americans responsible for the virtual deadlock in the negotiation on nuclear disarmament and unending conflict in the Middle East and for other contemporary international issues. In short, the book under review pertains to the category of friendship studies, the only factor which may disqualify it from such an appellation is its price.

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STUDIES ON LABOUR AND PLANNING

IMMANUEL WALLERSTEIN (*Ed.*) : Labour in the World Social Structure. Sage Publications India Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1983. 256 p.. $25.

THE Fernand Braudel Centre, of which Prof. Wallerstein is the Director, undertook the delicate task of organizing a series entitled *Explorations in the World Economy* involving participation of well-known scholars from the United States and the USSR. The first such colloquium on World Labour and Social Change was organized in August 1980 and the present volume is an edited version of selected papers presented in this exchange. It has 10 contributors of which 3 are from the Soviet Union.

The volume contains a very useful Introduction by David Montgomery outlining the main concerns of the colloquium and how different aspects of the theme of workers and worker's movements were treated by the authors of the papers presented and the other contributors. This is followed by posing of some premises and issues on capitalism and the world working class for the research and analysis by Wallerstein. These two are very short but crisp pieces. Empirical contributions about North America, very rich in scope of their analyses and forming the bulk of the volume, are contributed by American scholars fairly well-versed in the Marxian lexicon. Among these, the analyses of Dubofsky, Seldon and Arrighi cover their geographical areas with time span analyses as long as a century, whereas Higginson's analysis covers only three decades. The next set of contributions, all very short, are by the Soviet scholars. The first of these by Timofeev, is abstract in nature, and relates world capitalism and the working class. Galkin's piece on the working class in the social structure of the developed capitalist countries is not all that rich in empirical details although quite impressive in analytical terms. Kucherenko's contribution on the working class of Asia and Africa in the 1970's is a very good combination of theoretical soundness and empirical rigour. In the end, Scott summarizes the deliberations in terms of questions for future discussions and research.

The above material in the volume generally centres around three major focal points : (i) the cycles of struggles of workers in the "core" countries and the problematic of class formation and revolution since the late nineteenth century ; (ii) historical problem of relationship between nationalism and working class movements ; and (iii) increasing qualification of workers and the "deskilling" of work during the twentieth century.

The discussion on the ebb and flow of workers' struggle under advanced industrial capitalism highlights (i) the relationship between war and union membership ; (ii) changing relationship between workplace

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struggles and labour's political movements in Europe, in particular the power of the working class as used by the labour parties ; and (iii) violent collisions between union movements *per se* and capitalist states.

The discussion on formation of the working class and its links with revolutionary movements of the workers in the Third World sketches the telescoped developments in China and Japan on the one hand and inter-related worlds of plantation labour, urban labour and the reserve affected as they are by the nature of their economies and the nature of capitalist development of their societies. The discussion on this dimension raises very important questions for future researches.

The question of increasing/decreasing levels of qualification within the working class has understandably been negotiated from diametrically opposite angles by the American and the Soviet scholars. However, as Montgomery remarks, the nature of and significance for workers of the scientific-technical revolution of the last generation and the source of working class mobilization and activity are closely inter-twined with each other. The question of skills is not at all delinked from the question of class action.

Being the first exercise of its kind, it is hardly surprising to find an absence of synchronization of thematic wave-lengths and integration of approaches of the two sets of participating scholars. Under the circumstances, the contrast between the selection and treatment of themes by the American and the Soviet scholars referred to by Montgomery, could not have been avoided. Apart from differences in their ideological stances, these is also the difference in their approaches to the questions taken up for analyses. Whereas the Soviets (with the exception of Kucherenko) have attempted abstract analyses, the Americans have delved deeper into the specifics and process empirical details.

The participants in the colloquium may not have assumed that the world is governed only by the capitalist system. Yet, their selection of geographical areas, both in terms of omissions and inclusions, tends to give such an impression. Material on countries from the Soviet bloc and such large and important countries from the Third World as India (Asia), Brazil (Latin America) and Egypt (Middle East), despite its existence otherwise, is conspicuous by its absence. There is also the tendency to cover different streams and complexities of workers' movements in single countries only as a single whole. Even a scholar of Wallerstein's stature does not appear to be making any distinction between premises and issues of capitalism and world working class and working class in world capitalist systems.

Probably organisation of the colloquium itself involved quite an effort on the part of Wallerstein, and he was not able to devote as much attention to the editing and arrangement of the material as he would have hoped for. Relating the contents of the volume to its title, it becomes

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clear that the two are at variance with each other. Perhaps, it would have been wiser to stick to the title of the colloquium. The volume could have profitably included some of the major unwritten presentations made at the gathering, some of which are repeatedly—and justifiably—refferred to by Montgomery, Scott, and others. Reading the Introduction by Montgomery and the summary of the deliberations in terms of questions for future research by Scott, one is left with the impression of overlap and lack of integration. The reviewer would have preferred pieces of Wallerstein, Timofeev, and Galkin in one segment providing abstract analyses; periodized analyses could have followed thereafter. Among the latter, those of Kucherenko, and Higginson, being short time span analyses and dealing with Asian and African social structures, could have come first, those of Dubofsky, Arrighi and Seldon, being century long analyses, could have come later.

If selections have to be made about the pieces represented in the volume, those of Higginson, Seldon and Arrighi must be rated top class. Despite the foregoing shortcomings, which must be expected in initial stages of any such sensitive dialogue, the volume is a pioneering step in juxtapositional scholarship and Wallerstein must be congratulated for his trail-blazing effort. The reviewer is looking forward to further output from the exchange started by Wallerstein.

Lucknow — H.S. VERMA

A. GHOSH AND D. CHAKRABORTY (*Eds.*) : Contributions to National and Regional Planning Problems. K.P. Bagchi and Co., Calcutta, 1983, vii, 174, p., Rs. 70.

THIS volume on *Contributions to National and Regional Planning Problems* has six valuable papers centering on the theme of national or regional planning. A. Ghosh is a joint author of five of the six contributions and the sole author of the remaining contribution. D. Chakraborty is joint author of three contributions. The first paper in the volume on "Macro-Economic Planning Models : The Indian Experience," is a critical survey of Indian planning models from the Second to Sixth Five Year Plans, pointing their usefulness and limitations and making an overall assessment of the results of planning so far. The second paper on "National Planning Model and International Consistency," deals with the theme of the interdependence of the national economy on international market conditions and the impact of international constraints on national planning. The third paper on "Operational Strategy for Matching Regions to

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Suitable Industrial Clusters in Regional Development," suggests an operational approach to regional planning through ranking regions following suitable economic criteria. The fourth paper on "The Nature of Growth in Metropolitan Regions of India and a Growth Model for Projection into the Future," relates to growth of metropolitan regions and explains how an identification of key variables and their inter-relation helps in understanding the growth patterns of metropolitan regions. The fifth paper is on "Problems of Transport Planning in the Calcutta Metropolitan Area." The last paper is on the "Use of Multivariate Analysis in Classification of Regions."

In the paper on "Macro-Economic Planning Models : The Indian Experience," Ghosh and Guha review the Indian experience in planning. The authors emphasise the need for having a conceptual framework and a quantitative model in relation to which the development plans and growth of the economy could be discussed. Data limitation and measurement difficulties in developing countries should not, they argue, preclude formation and use of plan models. The guiding principles of all Five Year Plans formulated in India are growth, equity, social justice and self-reliance. Need for improving productivity has been highlighted in recent plans. Though growth and industrialization have been achieved to a moderate extent, the authors argue there has been no success in altering the structure of income distribution. Ghosh and Guha point out the limitations of achieving plan targets in India with a substantial private sector.

The two-sector Mahalanobis model used for the formulation of the Second Five Year Plan considers the allocation of total investment between capital and consumer goods sectors and the output-capital ratios in the two-sectors. The determinant of the rate of growth is the share of total investment allocated to the investment goods sector. In further elaboration, Mahalanobis provided a four-sector model with total investment to be allocated to : (1) capital goods sector ; (2) factory produced consumer goods sector ; (3) household produced consumer goods sector and (4) services sector. The four sector model of Mahalanobis was shown by critics as inefficient in the allocation of resources. They pointed out that capital and employment were not, as Mahalanobis assumed, independent variables.

The national macro-economic model used in the formulation of the Third Plan sought consistency between magnitudes such as taxes, savings, foreign aid and investment. The limitation of the model was shown in that savings and foreign aid requirements underwent significant changes when certain parameter values, like capital-output ratio and marginal rate of savings, were slightly different from what was assumed. For the Fifth Five Year Plan an open-static Leontief input-output model with terminal year consistency between different sectoral outputs and giving terminal year investment levels was provided. The Plans' aim was to lessen regional

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inequality, but no provision was made in the Plan to ensure that incomes increase faster in rural relative to urban, India. In the investment planning model for the Sixth Plan, sectoral demands and supplies are shown to balance inter-temporally for inputs like labour, capital and non-renewable resources and for outputs and services. The demand relations are an extended version of the Leontief open input-output system.

The authors conclude their excellent review by stating that plan developments have not measured up to the modest targets that were set. This review supplements the earlier well-known survey on "Planning Theory and Techniques" by Bhagwati and Chakravarty in *Contributions to Indian Economic Analysis* (American Economic Review, September 1969). No one would disagree with the authors in their assessment that the main difficulty in Indian planning has been the inability to effect socio-economic transformation.

Ghosh, Guha, Chakraborty and Das in the paper on "National Planning Model and International Consistency" discuss the problem of target setting for export items. Taking a departure from the usual approach of setting targets through econometric models, the authors present a method for setting up national targets for exports, which take cognizance of competitive international markets for exportables. The component structures of the model consist of : (a) a national input-output model ; (b) demand functions for selected commodities ; (c) transportation matrix ; (d) model describing international flow of commodities in world trade and determination of world market prices.

The empirical model developed by the authors is with specific reference to tea, coffee and jute, three major primary exports from India. Stating that world demand functions are not adequate for estimating world demand for the three primary exports, they suggest the setting up of regionwise demand functions for the export items. However, in their empirical work they have admitted that they have used only crude export demand functions but have not explained the justification, given the questionable estimates, of substituting input-output vector by trade-market equilibrium vector for recomputing the vector of outputs and national income.

In the paper on "Operational Strategy for Matching Regions to Suitable Industrial Clusters in Regional Development", Ghosh suggests that a pragmatic and operational approach to regional planning is through ranking the regions, following suitable criteria, such that the projects selected form and inter-dependent set in the overall national development plan. The paper is based on the author's study and formulation of a Regional Development Plan for Iran in 1975-76.

Ranking regions on the basis of amount invested in the different industries in the past gives us a picture of the historical ordering of regions. Ghosh lists seventeen parameters for ranking regions. Some of them are : popu-

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lation density, power availability, ground water reserve in the region, percentage of population employed in major industries, per capita capital, per capita gross regional product, cultivable land and population engaged in agriculture. The overall rank for an industry in a region can be estimated as the weighted sum of the parameter values in that region, weighted by the ranks accorded to the parameters in that region. Ghosh suggests alternative statistical techniques for ranking regions for their suitability for investment. These include (1) multiple regression techniques ; (2) measuring inter-correlation among investments in different industries ; (3) measuring the correlation between total input and output flows from each sector to other sectors ; (4) application of discriminant function analysis in identifying project clusters and (5) the method of principal component analysis.

In another related paper the "Use of Multivariate Analysis in the Classification of the Regions," Ghosh and Dutta demonstrate the use of the technique of discriminant analysis and the method of principal component analysis for this purpose.

In the fourth paper—"The Nature of Growth in Metropolitan Regions in India and a Growth Model for Projection into the Future," Ghosh, Nandy and Chakrabarty study the four major metropolitan cities of India, viz., Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi and Madras, compare their demographic and economic characteristics, their interaction and the changes that have occurred from 1921 to 1971. They also predict the future course of growth of these cities. The comparative analysis based on four indices, population growth rate, birth rate, death rate and migration rate indicates that Delhi and Bombay are fast growing cities, followed by Madras. Calcutta with a low growth rate, high death rate and low rate of migration presents features of a decaying city. They present an overall model of growth for the four metropolitan cities concerning economic activity in terms of a two-sector model. Their analysis is very illuminating.

In their paper on "Problems of Transport Planning in the Calcutta Metropolitan Area", Ghosh and Bhattacharya discuss the existing mass transportation services in Calcutta, their unsatisfactory position and the overcrowding which will become even more acute in the next decade. For transportation planning, inventory of existing facilities and estimates of future urban growth and development costs to meet new traffic demands have to be made. They present a simple transport model, where households have to make an optimal allocation between consumption, house rent and travel costs, given their incomes. They provide estimates of volume of transit passengers during peak hours in Calcutta and suggest that the network of routes and optimum fleet of buses should be planned immediately till a more satisfactory mass transport system for Calcutta comes into operation.

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The six papers included in the volume represent important contributions on the subject of National and Regional Planning. The volume would be most useful to all interested in Indian regional and national planning. I would recommend it as an important reference on planning problems to all postgraduate and Honours Economics students. The usefulness of the volume would be enhanced by suggested list of readings at the end of each paper, as has been done at the end of the first one.

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SOCIAL PROBLEMS

PROMILLA KAPUR : Conflict Between Adolescent Girls and Parents in India. Vision Books, New Delhi, 1982, xi, 128 p., Rs. 50.

OCCASIONAL strain in the relations of adolescent girls and their parents has been a normal feature of family life in India. What is, however, new is the kind of estrangement that characterizes their relationship in modern times, particularly in urban middle class families. The intensity of this estrangement in many cases is such that it defies explanation in terms of the category of generation gap. The various facets of this estrangement and the factors behind it are well brought out in this book.

Some of the main issues identified in their relationship are : (i) the traditionally ignorant and negligent attitudes of parents towards their adolescent daughters' problems with regard to their physiological development ; (ii) the propensity of parents to discriminate against their young daughters vis-a-vis sons, compare them unfavourably with others and make fun of them in the presence of their friends : (iii) clashing aspirations and expectations of parents and their daughters pertaining to such matters as educational and vocational options, choice of career, the time devoted to studies, the types of movies, clothes and make-up, etc., and above all ; (iv) sharp differences of opinion with regard to the degree of freedom to be given to the girls in respect of love, sex and mate-selection. While the issues of the first two categories are ages-old those of the last two are of recent origin. With the spread of education among girls, a new sense of freedom of choice has dawned upon them. Accordingly, nothing touches the girls so much as the issue of the degree of freedom, in whatever sphere.

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Thus the picture that emerges is that of fast-changing morals and life-styles of young girls and the unrelenting hold of tradition on the parents, resulting in the attitudinal lag between them. Much of the tension in their relations is believed to stem from this widening attitudinal lag due to exposure of girls to education and media effect on the one hand and break-up of the joint family system and lack of religious and moral training on the other. Not the proverbial generation gap but the fact of widening attitudinal lag is thus held to be at the root of the disaffection between adolescent girls and their parents.

All this may sound pretty familiar to an Indian reader if only because it is a part of his living reality. It may, however, appear queer to western readers whose conceptions and cultural experiences of the relationship between adolescent girls and parents are different. Indeed so different that even high incidence of teenage pregnancies among unmarried girls raise not an eyebrow, let alone a furore.

Even to Indian readers the book is highly interesting. This is so because it is based on case histories, excerpts from letters, narration in counselling sessions and informal interviews. The result is a vivid, absorbing and objective accout of torments of both girls and parents. At places the book reads like a novel. It brings alive the irritants in the relationship between adolescent girls and parents.

If one is looking for a scientifically designed study, producing statistical correlations, one will better look for that elsewhere. Here is an exploratory study, primarily a qualitative one. Even so, some more information on the background characteristics of girls as well as parents would have been revealing, as it would have helped to put the problem in perspective. Mere mention of middle class background is not enough as it is too broad and general a category. Moreover, the analysis is not consistently based on case studies of girls and their own parents, on account of which the linkages of background characteristics are lost.

Yet, the book offers perceptive insights into the dynamics of relations between adolescent girls and parents, using both social structural and social psychological perspectives. Also, it offers generous advice to both parents and girls on how to resolve their tensions and restore family harmony.

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INDIAN BOOKS OF THE QUARTER

By Ashok Jambhekar

The object of this feature is to offer, every quarter, scholars and students as well as libraries, compact bib liography of such current Indian publications in the field of social sciences as are received from publishers, but not reviewed in this journal. While no claim is made to exhaustiveness, it is hoped that this section, together with the review section of this journal, does list publications of importance, useful for libraries and research workers in the social sciences.

AGWANI, M.S. *Politics in the Gulf*. Vikas, New Delhi, 1978. vi, 199. p. Rs. 60.

The author, an expert on West Asia and Professor in the School of International Studies, Jawarharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, dwells on the politics and political systems in the Gulf and the change that has taken place after the influx of wealth due to the price hike in oil by the OPEC. As a consequence of this the author contends, the regional power equations as well as the foreign policy perspectives of the Gulf States have also undergone changes. This study further focuses on the interests of the Super Powers in the region and analyses the causes and results of the arms build-up in it. While presenting an overview of Gulf politics, India's stakes and options in the Gulf has also been discussed in this study. The value of the book is enhanced by the addition of important related documents provided in the appendix of the study.

BEG, M.H. *Impact of Secularism on Life and Law* (*Motilal Nehru Memorial Lectures, 3*). People's Publishing House, New Delhi. viii, 74 p. Rs. 15. Paper.

The Third Motilal Nehru Memorial Lecture by Justice M.H. Beg, former Chief Justice of India and presently Chairman of the Minorities Commission, deals with the concept of secularism and its philosophical foundations in India. He examines secularism as a part of the basic structure of our Constitution. The book includes constitutional provisions relating to secularism and a draft declaration on religious freedom in India as adopted by the Minorities Commission.

BESANT, Annie, *An Autobiography*. Theosophical Publishing House, Madras, 1983. xiv, 332 p., Illus., Rs. 65.

First published in 1893, this autobiography does not reveal only the grand personality of the author, who was elected President of the Theosophical Society in 1907 and President of the Congress at the Calcutta Session in 1917, but also the work of the Theosophical Society, the objects of which were : to found universal brotherhood without distinction of race or creed ; to forward the study of Aryan literature and philosophy and to investigate unexplained laws of nature and the powers latent in man.

BHATT, S. *Environment Protection and International Law*. Radiant Publishers, New Delhi, 1985, xvi, 122 p. Rs. 40.

To promote ecological living of man and the conservation of nature is of vital importance in the present day rapidly changing global environments. The author's book makes an important contribution to this aspect of mankind. It provides an ecological approach to the application of international law to protect the environment and attempts to synthesise the disciplines —law, science and history—in order to bridge wide gaps in the application of modern international law to newly emerging global problems of ecology, population explosion, energy use, biosphere resources and issues involving human evoiution. It also examines the impact of aerospace law on modern man and our civilization and traces the role of aerospace

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law vis-a-vis the evolution of global society. The book contains an evaluation of India's environment policy and the contribution of Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi to the global environment movement and the development of a peaceful ecological world order.

BIRLA INSTITUTE OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH, ECONOMIC RESEARCH DIVISION, *New Delhi. Inflation, Corporate Tax Provision and Investment in India.* Radiant Publishers, New Delhi, 1985. xiv, 134 p. Rs. 75.

Well researched study for finance/tax managers of corporations and policy makers. Presents estimates of effective corporate tax rates on incremental investments in capital assets under different tax codes and tax scenarios for India with a view to deter- mining incentives to undertake additional investment. It focuses on the effect of inflation on depreciation allowances and in detail discusses solutions like indexation and acceleration of these allowances together with their merits and demerits. It examines the effects of the proposal made by the Economic Administration Reforms Commission under the Chairmanship of L.K. Jha, to accelerate depreciation for plant and machinery on the effective tax rates. The study gives findings of British tax reforms policy introduced in its 1984-85 Budget comprising of lowering of corporate tax rates and abolition of capital allowances and its implication for the Indian policy makers. Implications of reduction in the coporate tax rate proposed in the Indian Budget 1985-86 are also focused in the study.

GALANTER, Marc. *Competing Equalities : Law and the Backward Classes in India.* Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1984. xxii, 625 p.

Informative and educative treatise on the Indian experience with the subject "Compensatory discrimination," as termed by the author, which deals with the Indian constitution policies to safeguard the interests of the historically disadvantaged sections of the population. It is divided into three parts ; the first part deals with these policies and their background, including those under British rule. Identification of the recipients of discriminatory advantage and its related problems are dealt with in the second part. The concluding chapter of this part summarises the implications of the governmental super-imposition of official categories of beneficiaries in the complex process of group and personal identity for the role of the courts implementing the compensatory discriminatory policy. The third part discussses contitutional provisions which embody this policy and the law which have implemented it and the judicial decisions which apply these provisions. Finally this study assesses the achievements of these programmes in the policy. Appendix provides relevant provisions of the Indian Constitution.

GANDHI, K.L. *The Problems of Official Language in India.* Arya Book Depot, New Delhi, 1984. xii, 232 p. Rs. 65.

The study is about the language situation as it obtained since Independence, The author in this thesis discusses the evolution of Indian languages under two categories—Indo-Aryan languages and Dravidian languages—question of official language as debated in the Constituent Assembly, Hindi versus English controversy and language policies of different political parties. It further discusses the factors to determine the criteria for selecting the language of the union for its various functions and for emotional as well as intellectual integration, and the efforts made for development and promotion of Hindi. He compares the realities of the Indian situation with the position in other multilingual countries of the world and emphasises on the need for proper language planning. The study is substantiated by a great deal of statistical data and official documents.

GOEL, Sita Ram *Muslim Separatism : Causes and Consequences.* Voice of India, New Delhi, 1983. 123 p. Rs. 12.

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INDUSTRIAL CREDIT AND INVESTMENT CORPORATION OF INDIA *Export Performance of ICICI Financed Companies, 1978-79 to 1980-81*. Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India Ltd. Bombay, 1985, 110 p.

Deals with the export activity of manufacturing units in the corporate sector and evaluates exports incentive schemes and the role of factors such as import of technology, the quality of goods, availability of raw materials, infrastructural problems, marketing, delivery schedule of goods shipping facilities.

MUKHERJEE, Bhabannada. *Structure and Kinship in Tribal India*. Minerva Associates, Calcutta, 1981, xi, 76 p., Rs. 40.

It is a study of sixty eight tribes of India belonging to different states, cultures, and ecology. They include both simple, nomadic and shifting cultivators and highly organised tribes depending upon plough cultivation. It discusses family, clan, lineage, principles regulating marriage and the practice of cross-cousin marriages. It takes into account the structural changes that have taken place due to the weakening of kinship usages, obligations and structural principles.

NARAYANAN, P. *Patent Law* (*Intellectual Property law series*). 2nd. Edn. Eastern Law House, Cacutta, 1985. lxvii, 1377 p. Rs. 375.

PARANJPE, Shrikant. *India and South Asia Since 1971*. Radiant Publishers, New Delhi, 1985. xi, 107 p. Rs. 75.

This study of India's policy towards South Asia since 1971 describes the attempts made by it to maintain order pattern in the region by keeping it free from extra-region intervention. It exemines how the order pattern of the 1970s broke down in the the wake of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, and attempts made by India to adhere to the 1971-72 model by emphasising the need to keep political and security issues out of the purview of SARC. Pakistan's proposal of a "No war Pact," SARC, Nepal's proposal for a Peace Zone, etc., and their implications are also discussed by the author. He argues that the order pattern in the region in the 1980s should not be based exclusively on military considerations but on political considerations, respect for the principle of sovereignty and independent identity of smallar powers and greater socio-economic interaction among the countries of the region.

RATNAGAR. Shereen *Encounters : The Westerly Trade of the Harappa Civilization*. Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1981. xxi, 294 p,. Maps, Illus. Rs. 120.

Ph. D. thesis, explores the scope of trading contacts between the Sumerian Civilization and Indus Valley Civilization of as early as 2500 B.C. It describes the range of merchandise and how the goods were transported inspite of the primitive methods of sailing and land transport then available. The author further identifies the prosperous communities, transporters and middlemen and the suppliers of goods and discusses how the participation in interegional trade determined the character of the Indus Ctvilization and the course of its history. Useful, documented study.

REDDY, O. Chinnappa. *Legal Theory and Social Change : The Indian Scene* (Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Memorial Publications, V.). Karnataka University, Dharwad, 1984. vii, 33 p. Rs. 5.

Text of two lectures delivered by the Supreme Court Judge. In the first lecture, survey of the various legal theories is presented. He refers to the different methodological and ideological frames within which the judicial process must operate ; in this connection he mentions the schools of positivism, realism and sociological determinism. He advances a case for Marxian jurisprudence and argues for a historical materialist understanding of law, emphasising interaction between law and society. In the second lecture, he analyses how the class system in India under our liberal

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democratic Constitution functions to promote the interests of the bourgeois class and thus strengthen its rule.

SAHA, A.N. *Mitra's Legal and Commercial Dictionary* (4th Edn.). Eastern Law House, Calcutta, 1985. 7 p., 815 p. Rs. 115.

SENADHIRA, Sugeeswara P (*Ed. & Comp.*). *President J.R. Jayewardene on National and International Affairs : His Biography and Selected Speeches* (Studies on Sri Lanka Series, 3). Sri Satguru Publicalions, Delhi, 1985. xii, 98 p., Illus., Rs. 90.

Collection of speeches delivered to international audiances such as Summit Meetings of Non-aligned Movement, CHOGM, Colombo Plan and others, to forums as diverse as the Japanese Peace Conference, to the address to the nation from Octogan of the Dalada Maligawa in Kandy after assuming office as the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka. It covers a period from 1950 when he was a Finance Minister of Sri Lanka to June 1985. It contains a brief biographical sketch of the President. Foreword is by Lalith Athulathmudali, Minister for National Security.

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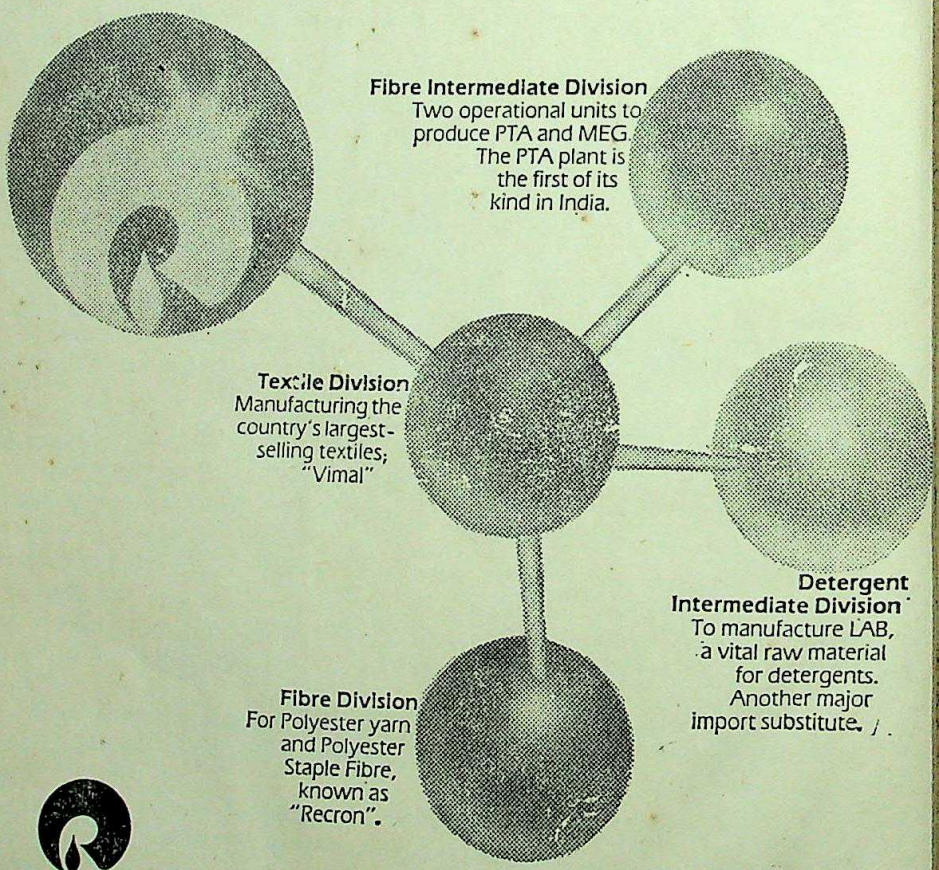
There's no alternative to growth.

Reliance

(Figures in crores)

	1977*	1984	% of growth
	Rs.	Rs.	
Turnover	68.98	611.38	786
Gross Profit	4.33	95.27	2100
Gross Fixed Assets	17.00	520.08	2959
Reserves & Surplus	3.29	194.41	5809
Net Worth	9.54	246.39	2483
Dividend	1.89	16.22	1722

Another fresh investment of Rs. 700 crores in the next 2 years: a multi-product, multi-location enterprise.



* The year Reliance went pu

Reliance
Textile Industries Limited
Maker Chambers IV, Nariman Point,
Bombay 400 021, India.

Where growth is a way of li

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